

TOP STORY: The man who ended the Reagan era

December 28, 1992 - January 10, 1993

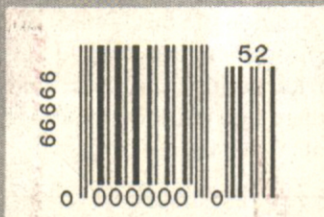
In THESE TIMES

the alternative newsmagazine

“There are a lot of senators looking at Bob Packwood and thinking, ‘There but for the grace of God go I.’”

PAGE 18

\$2.50 / CANADA \$3.00



©1992 Tait Hombak/2 m.s./Impact Visuals

THIS DIDN'T
HAVE
TO HAPPEN

*Somali novelist
Nuruddin Farah
ponders the roots
of the crisis.*

PAGE 14

E D I T O R I A L

ARMS TRADE, NOT DROUGHT,
HAS DESTROYED SOMALIA

The U.S. Marines landing in Somalia are performing a humanitarian act, but one made necessary largely because of our own government's actions. On TV, and in much of the print media, the Somalia tragedy is pictured as the result of drought. Yet Cold War rivalry, which divided the nation into heavily armed rival clans, has played a more important role. As Rep. Howard Wolpe (D-MI), who opposed military aid to Somalia for a decade, says, the Carter and Reagan administrations bear much of the responsibility for what is happening now, "because it was the United States that propped up the incredibly repressive, corrupt regime of Siad Barre" after the Soviet Union abandoned him in favor of Ethiopia in 1979.

Soviet and American arms abound in Somalia today. Practically every male over the age of 12 carries an AK-47 and many gangs are even more heavily armed. From 1979 to 1989, when Congress finally put a stop to military aid to Barre, the U.S. sent almost half a billion dollars to this relatively small and unimportant nation, turning it into a living hell for those trying to survive at a subsistence level.

Somalis are the most recent victims of this policy, but it was only two years ago that Iraq was devastated even more thoroughly, after the Bush administration and the Soviets provided the means for it to become an aggressor.

One might have thought that with the end of the Cold War, the insane policy of shipping arms to Third World countries would have been reversed, and that the U.S. would have taken the lead in stopping this trade. But the Bush administration took the opposite tack, according to Lee Feinstein, who monitors weapons proliferation for the Arms Control Association, a private defense think tank. In 1989, when the Bush administration took over, Feinstein says, the "one economic plan they did have was to help defense contractors market overseas." To do so, Bush directed U.S. embassies to assist American arms manufacturers in selling their wares. He also created a Center for Defense Trade, called on its allies to set up a "free arms-trade zone" and proposed government guarantees for up to \$1 billion in commercial loans to U.S. allies to purchase American arms.

All of this has paid off handsomely for the makers of death and destruction. In the last two years, some \$32 bil-

lion worth of weapons have been sold in the Mideast alone. And many of these new arms have been state-of-the-art weapons that can be used with minimal training. Kuwait, for example, recently purchased the new M1-A2 tank, in part because it is easy to operate. The M1-A2 "makes a tanker out of a herdsman or farmer," a recently retired Pentagon officer told David Evans of the *Chicago Tribune*. With arms like these, even the most technologically backward countries can become military threats to their neighbors.

The U.S., the world's largest seller of arms and the country with the most advanced weapons, is in a unique position to stop this trade, or at least to reduce it substantially. This should be a major policy priority for the new administration. It won't be easy, because the former Eastern bloc nations have little to export for hard currency except their surplus arms, which many of them are now marketing aggressively. In November, for example, the Russian government held a first-ever commercial exhibit and sale of Russian weapons in the city of Vladimir. And Evans reports that the Ukrainian government intends to sell 19 Tu-160 Blackjack bombers—the Russian equivalent of our B-1 intercontinental bomber—because it has neither the money nor the trained crews needed to operate them.

This trade could be ended, along with our own, if Bill Clinton wants to. He would first have to stop the sale of American arms, while developing a plan of economic and diplomatic incentives for the other arms-exporting nations to do likewise. In the case of Eastern bloc nations, economic aid could be tied to arms destruction. For example, instead of selling its bombers as a means of obtaining hard currency, the U.S. could pay the Ukraine to dismantle them. And we could buy up all the existing surplus Russian arms now for sale on the condition that production be stopped, or reduced to current internal needs. If this became a basis of hard-currency aid, the trade could quickly come to an end.

All this, of course, is based on the premise that the new administration is willing to abandon the Bush policy of military Keynesianism, and the neocolonial use of arms sales to create dependency on American training, support and the flow of spare parts. So far, there's no indication that Clinton intends such a policy reversal.

*Somalia
is only the
latest victim
of arms
proliferation.
Two years
ago, it was
Iraq.*

IN THESE TIMES

"...with liberty and justice for all"

Editor: James Weinstein
Managing Editor: Sheryl Larson
Senior Editors: Patricia Aufderheide,
 David Moberg, Salim Muwakkil
Staff Writer: Robin Epstein
Assistant Managing Editor: Glenora Croucher
Culture Editor: Miles Harvey
In Person Editor: Joel Bleifuss
European Editor: Diana Johnstone
New York Editor: Daniel Lazare
Recreation Editor: Alex Molnar
Contributing Editors: Peter Karman,
 Ilan Stavans, Jim McNeill
Washington Correspondents:
 John Canham-Clyne, John B. Judis
Eastern Europe Correspondent:
 Paul Hockenos
Film Critics: Pat Dowell, Patricia Aufderheide
Copy Editor: George Hodak
Type: Jim Rinnert
Editorial Interns: Leslie Averback, Kurt
 Gottschalk, Ed Marszewski, Ian Landau

Art Director: Miles DeCoster
Associate Art Director: Peter Hannan
Assistant Art Director: Lisa Weinstein
Editorial Cartoonist: Terry LaBan

Publisher: James Weinstein
Associate Publisher: Beth Schulman
Co-Business Managers: Robert Larson, *Finance*;
 Kevin O'Donnell, *Data Processing/Accounting*
Circulation Director: Rob Osler
Advertising Director: Bruce Embrey
Office Manager: Theresa Nutall
Fulfillment Manager: Greg Kilbane

(ISSN 0160-5992)

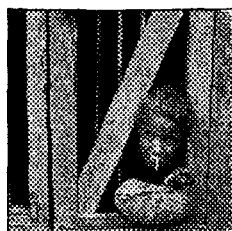
Published 26 times a year by Institute for Public Affairs,
 2040 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60647, (312) 772-
 0100. Member: Alternative Press Syndicate The entire
 contents of *In These Times* are copyright © 1992 by
 Institute for Public Affairs, and may not be reproduced in
 any manner, either in whole or in part, without
 permission of the publisher. Copies of *In These Times*
 contract with the National Writers Union are available
 upon request. Complete issues and volumes of *In These
 Times* are available from University Microfilms
 International, Ann Arbor, MI. Selected articles are
 available on 4-track cassette from Freedom Ideas
 International, 640 Bayside, Detroit, MI 48217. All rights
 reserved. *In These Times* is indexed in both the
 Alternative Press Index and the Left Index. Publisher
 does not assume liability for unsolicited manuscripts or
 material. Manuscripts or material unaccompanied by
 stamped, self-addressed envelope will not be returned.
 All correspondence should be sent to: *In These Times*,
 2040 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60647.
 Subscriptions are \$34.95 a year (\$59 for institutions;
 \$61.95 Canada; \$75.95 overseas). For customer service
 and to place subscription orders, call toll free: (800) 827-
 0270. Advertising rates sent on request. Available back
 issues are \$5 each; specify volume and number. All
 letters received by *In These Times* become property of
 the newspaper. We reserve the right to print letters in
 condensed form. Second-class postage paid at Chicago,
 IL and at additional mailing offices. Postmaster: Send
 address changes to *In These Times*, 1912 Debs Ave., Mt.
 Morris, IL 61054.
 This issue (Vol. 17, No. 3) published Dec. 28, 1992, for
 newsstand sales Dec. 28 - Jan. 10, 1992.



InTHESE TIMES

CONTENTS

Volume 17, Number 3



The savaging of Somalia

*An exiled author ponders the
 plight of his homeland.*

NURUDDIN FARAH

14



The man who ended the Reagan era

It's not who you think it is.

JOHN B. JUDIS

20



The real stakes of the trade war
*U.S. and European agriculture negotiators are
 ignoring the environment.*

DIANA JOHNSTONE

24

| | |
|---|----|
| Editorial | 2 |
| Letters | 4 |
| Sylvia · Nicole Hollander | 4 |
| In Short | 6 |
| Appall-o-meter · Woody Igou | 6 |
| Media Beat · Pat Aufderheide | 8 |
| In Person · Mike Leon | 10 |
| First Stone · Joel Bleifuss | 12 |
| Adventures of a huge mouth · Peter Hannan | 13 |
| Last stand of the Senate old boy's club · John Wilson | 18 |
| Rough cuts · J.A. Reid | 22 |
| Do genes cause crime? · Salim Muwakkil | 26 |
| Corporate tax breaks are killing our schools · Gregory D. Squires | 28 |
| <i>The Crying Game</i> doesn't play by the rules · Pat Dowell | 30 |
| Remaking Mingus · Kurt Gottschalk | 32 |
| In Print | 33 |
| Classifieds | 37 |
| Calendar | 39 |
| The ITT Ideologue returns · Pete Karman | 40 |

LETTERS

Cubs prospect?

Just received the November 30 issue. Love the new look. The design is terrific and the magazine-style format makes for easy reading on the "L" train. You've hit a home run!

R. Carlson Jr.
Forest Park, Ill.

Not surprised

I read "Poisoning the National Toxics Campaign" by W.K. Burke (ITT, Oct. 28) and am dismayed at the treatment Adrienne Anderson was subjected to. But I was not surprised by this story in light of my own experience.

I was a volunteer and an employee, as defined by Massachusetts General

Laws, of the National Toxics Campaign Fund (NTCF) for a period of over two years. I was dismissed, from both positions, by its management. I feel one of the reasons for dismissal was my participation in a union drive among the rank-and-file staff. Presently, I have a charge against NTCF with the National Labor Relations Board in Boston on account of unfair labor practices (case 1-CA-29053).

I would liken what we are witnessing with the NTCF to a macabre remark in George Orwell's *Animal Farm*. Anderson and other "laid-off" employees are the horses that are abused and, subsequently, sent to the soap factory. It is quite obvious who are the pigs and the acquiescing sheep in this scenario. Thank you for the courage your journal displayed in reporting these matters.

Mohamad Fahd
Brighton, Mass.

Deja vu, circa 1941?

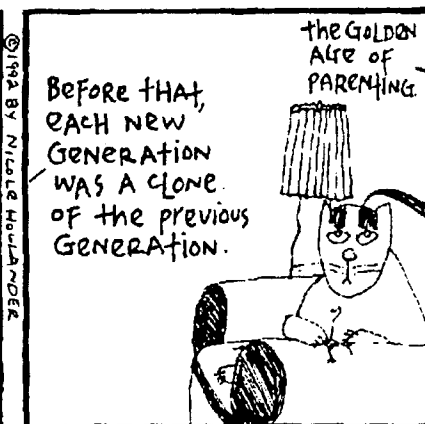
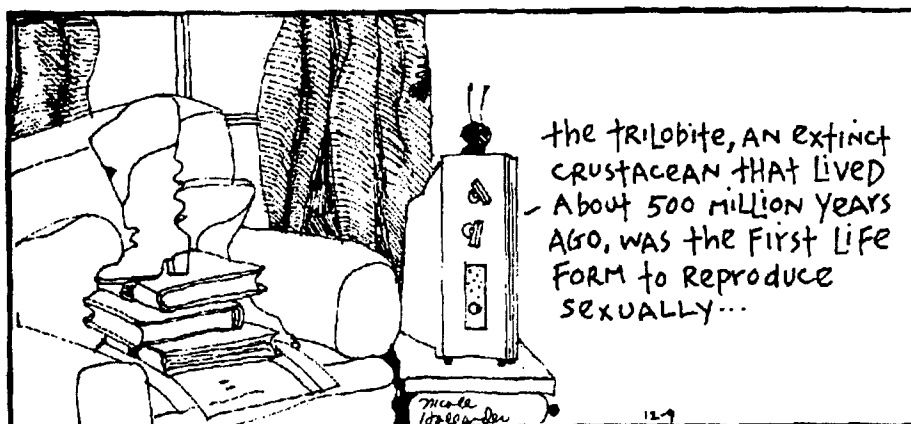
Paul Hockenos' "The case for intervention in the Balkans" (ITT, Oct. 28) reflects many of my frustrations of the last several months. Surely it is evident by now that the conflict in the former Yugoslavia is not in any way a civil war fought on a level playing field, but a well-armed, daily offensive by Serbian forces against non-Serb civilian populations. The Serbs have inherited almost the entire weaponry of the Yugoslav army, the fifth largest in Europe, so the U.N. arms embargo directed at all the states in the former Yugoslavia cynically hands the advantage to the Serbs. The West not only refuses to defend the lives of millions of innocent people but also prevents them from defending themselves.

Hockenos' comparison of Serbia's vicious aggression in Bosnia-Herzegovina to the National Socialism of Hitler's Germany is apt. The extreme right-wing regime of Slobodan Milosevic has all the components of fascism and should be strongly opposed. I've never heard anyone make a case against Allied intervention in Europe in 1941. It is inconsistent to object to a similar response now.

A year and a half of "ethnic cleansing" has cost an estimated 100,000 lives. We can't bring back the dead, but it's not too late for people to be able to return to their homes and vil-

SYLVIA

by Nicole Hollander



lages. It is possible to liberate concentration camps and prevent the continued slaughter. So far the Serbs have absolutely no reason to discontinue their barbaric adventure—not just in Croatia and Bosnia, but in Macedonia and Kosovo (already a Serbian police state). If no other effective means to end the killing present themselves in the near future, then I reluctantly support Paul Hockenos' call for armed intervention.

Dede Faller
Washington

Off-track bet

Although I can appreciate your disappointment at the return of Arlen Specter to the Senate after his defeat of Lynn Yeakel (*ITT*, Nov. 11), writer S.A. Paolantonio was somewhat incomplete in his analysis of that campaign. Specter's image as the one who, in Machiavellian fashion, concocted the JFK magic bullet theory, and then as the "hitman" for his Republican colleagues at the Anita Hill-Clarence Thomas hearings is certainly indelible in our minds.

Unfortunately, that is not the end of the story. Candidate Yeakel was certainly not in the progressive class of a Carol Moseley Braun of Illinois or a Barbara Boxer of California. She lost out in the Philadelphia vote, in contrast to the Clinton total, because her career is not one of progressive, union politics but is steeped in the traditions of affluent traditional policies. That is why, with some teeth-grinding, organized labor endorsed Specter on most occasions.

This was a year in which the Pennsylvania Democrats should have taken up the gauntlet with a candidate—ideally another woman, in order to take advantage of the Hill-Thomas affair—with a track record that would have given the voters of that state a real choice.

Don Sloan
New York

Failure to inquire

S.A. Paolantonio's articles, "The Spectering of Lynn Yeakel" (*ITT*, Oct. 14) and "Specter put his money where the votes were" (*ITT*, Nov. 11), offer superficial analysis of the recent Senate campaign in Pennsylvania. Paolantonio failed to mention that his own *Philadelphia Inquirer* news department served as a virtual arm of the Specter campaign, and, in our judgment, played a role in Yeakel's defeat. (Paolantonio did not report on the campaign for the *Inquirer*.)

In its news coverage of the campaign, the *Inquirer* featured Specter's endorsement by Democratic Party hacks, and Paolantonio does the same by describing Hardy Williams as "key" and "dean of the Pennsylvania Legislature's black caucus." (In the local *City Paper*, Rob Hirtz noted that "although Williams has been electorally irrelevant for over a decade, his status as the senior African-American legislator in Harrisburg still carries some weight with the media.... [He and similar politicians] have proven to be effective smoke producers for the Specter camp.")

When one of these politicians, Larry Yatch, commented that women like Yeakel are saying, "Here, I've got breasts. Vote for me," the *Inquirer* buried this in an Associated Press dispatch entitled "Supporter Has Specter in a Dispute." The *Inquirer* failed to cover a press conference at which the distinguished University of Pennsylvania economist Lawrence Klein presented a pro-Yeakel economic statement signed by many local economists. Paolantonio criticized Yeakel for her neglect of the economy but ignored his paper's blackout of the Klein press conference.

Early in the campaign, the *Inquirer* repeatedly portrayed Yeakel as a rich elitist, reporting the value of her condominium, details on her stockholdings and her personal contributions to her own campaign. On July 26, the paper's main news reporter on the campaign, Nathan Gorenstein, noted

matter-of-factly that the Specter campaign had more than five times the resources of Yeakel's. No *Inquirer* investigation of the sources of Specter's funding followed.

On September 16, the paper ran an article entitled "Specter race more than familiar, but Yeakel is no-show." Five paragraphs into the article, it turned out that Yeakel was a "no-show" because she lacked the money for TV commercials. Paolantonio follows this *Inquirer* slant, barely mentioning the imbalance in resources in his first *In These Times* article, and even deriding Yeakel for "wasting precious time begging for campaign contributions." In his November 11 article, Paolantonio did focus on Specter's financial advantage, but he failed to say where Specter's money was coming from.

The Specter campaign was exceedingly dirty. In his November 11 article, Paolantonio refers only to its "deftness," not its sleaziness. In his earlier piece he stated that "his [Specter's] supporters labelled Yeakel an anti-Semite," thereby distancing Specter from responsibility for a vicious campaign tactic.

Paolantonio quoted the pastor of Yeakel's church as saying that, given the Jewish experience of persecution and extermination, it is sad that Jews should "now be the source of violence against others." This quote was entirely defensible, has nothing to do with anti-Semitism, and even less to do with Yeakel. Like his news department, Paolantonio implies that anti-Semitism was a real issue, rather than a calculated smear tactic by the Specter campaign.

The *Inquirer* news department never mentioned that Specter himself had been a major speaker at the Middle East program of Yeakel's church, nor did it ever analyze the smear campaign in depth (including the fact that over 30 pro-Israeli PACs linked to AIPAC had contributed sizable monies to the Specter campaign).

Edward S. Herman
Narberth, Pa.
Richard B. Du Boff
Bryn Mawr, Pa.

InSHORT



Beth Maschinot

Clinton campaign director David Wilhelm listens as Rita Valenti, co-convenor of the Little Rock Town Hall Meeting on national health care, tries to convince him to bring the president-elect to address the delegates.

CLINTON TEAM STIFFS HEALTH ADVOCATES

But Clinton greets Little Rock marchers

payer national health care plan, delegates from 27 states expected to be heard by high-level members of Clinton's transition health team and hoped the president-elect would make an appearance.

Instead, Clinton political operative David Wilhelm was sent to pacify the

If any of the thousand or so health care advocates that descended on Little Rock December 12 had illusions about the new administration's openness on the issue, they were soon put straight. Gathered at the Statehouse Convention Center to lobby Bill Clinton for a single-



By Woody Igou

Check your sushi

The Japanese government has agreed to return to



Korea 20,000 noses cut off to soldiers and civilians during Japan's 1597

invasion. For the past four centuries, the odd war fetishes have been stored in a *senbitsuka*, or "1,000 Nose Tomb."

No doubt located next to the "1,000 Hymen Shrine" dating from the World War II invasion of Korea.

The Donner Party never stopped

Nose Magazine reports that in Dawson City, Yukon, brave locals heft a drink



called a Sourtoe. Capt. Dick, who devised the cocktail, gives

out certificates to anyone who downs a drink containing a severed human toe. He uses a collection of toes (one was accidentally swallowed, while another one was stolen and taken to Texas) that have been donated by accident victims and frostbitten hunters. Over 9,000 people have officially joined the Sourtoe Cocktail Club.

Make mine a crusty nail!

Dead canaries?

The *New York Times* reports that the director of the Office



of Surface Mining, Harry Snyder, with the knowledge of Interior

Secretary Manuel Lujan Jr., systematically ordered inspectors to end investigations, reduce fines and eliminate prosecutions against the coal industry, which the department is assigned to oversee. Secretary Lujan has stated that his agency is not a "regulatory agency" but a "development agency."

See you at the Skyline Coal Company tennis courts, Manny!

Co-opted Radical chic

In a recent *Vogue* photo spread, the trend-setting mag trumpeted the "repentant" new "grungy" fashion movement. The style "mixes



rough-and-tumble clothes with waifish thrift-shop finery." The cloth-

ing shown on the "grungy" models included a \$480 Anna Sui dress and a \$1,400 Lainey Keogh cashmere sweater.

What's next—"Streets," a Ralph Lauren designer "body odor" for men?

Stunned by a stupid statement?
Nauseated by a noxious news item?
Livid about a ludicrous lie? Contact
the Appall-O-Meter, In These
Times, 2040 N. Milwaukee Ave.,
Chicago, IL 60647.

APPALL-O-METER SCALE

1. Weightless banality
2. Green Acres stupid
3. Malicious cretinism
4. Howard Sternesque
5. Mary Matalin mean
6. Gangrenous venality
7. A touch of evil
8. A cancer in the Zeitgeist
9. Et tu, Pol Pot?
10. Horseperson of the Apocalypse

crowd. Wilhelm started to talk, but when he said that Clinton couldn't come, a chant of "We want Bill" swept through the hall. This went on for five minutes as Wilhelm stood helplessly by. Finally, one of the conference's organizers, state Rep. Rita Valenti of Georgians for a Common Sense Health Plan, took the microphone and managed to restore order.

As the meeting went on, conference organizers took Wilhelm aside and tried to arrange a Clinton appearance. Meanwhile, throughout the hall groups of people began talking to each other about going to him. This prompted Valenti to announce that a march might be necessary, but that the meeting would proceed as planned until final word was received from Clinton.

That word never came. Instead, Democratic National Committee Chairman Ron Brown—who only minutes before had been nominated to head the new administration's Commerce Department—mysteriously appeared. He praised the crowd, telling them that the administration needed them, and that they should keep on with their activity. Then he left—without saying anything about health care. The organizers hesitated briefly as Bob Creamer of Illinois Public Action argued that a march on the capitol would "marginalize" the demonstrators, and that negotiation was the way to go. But the delegates had not sat all night on buses or spent hundreds of dollars on plane tickets to be denied. And as Valenti said later, negotiation was fine, but just as with the civil rights movement in the '60s, negotiation worked better with public action, not without it. So a silent march was agreed upon, and everyone left the hall. Led by about a dozen people in wheelchairs, they walked the long mile to the state capitol, where a brief rally was held. And in the end, Clinton did appear to greet the marchers and shake delegates' hands.

Organized from scratch in less than five weeks, the Little Rock "Town Meeting on Health Care" was a striking demonstration of the depth of feeling among Clinton's core constituents—women, blacks, union members, seniors and public health care workers—in favor of universal health care, comprehensive benefits and free choice of caregivers. The experience at Little Rock, on the other hand, was a sobering demonstration of how resistant Clinton is to hearing them. The likely result of this realization will be a redirection of effort toward Congress, where a core of like-minded legislators will push for a Canadian-style plan.

—James Weinstein

BURNT OUT

Gore calls for Ohio
incinerator investigation

How green will the Clinton-Gore administration be? One of the first signals from Gore's office is encouraging to environmentalists. Gore, joined by five U.S. senators from Ohio, Pennsylvania and

West Virginia, called for an investigation of the world's largest hazardous-waste incinerator in East Liverpool, Ohio, which is now in an experimental shakedown phase. Gore, whose office said the move was supported by President-elect Bill Clinton, said the new administration would not issue a permit for a test burn, the next step before full-scale operation.

But WTI, Inc., a subsidiary of Von Roll, a Swiss firm, plans to continue its shakedown incineration tests and could still try to get a test burn permit under the Bush administration. In mid-November, a federal judge refused to issue a temporary restraining order requested by the attorney general of West Virginia in a suit to block operation of the plant. That lawsuit continues, and

the senators are expected to ask Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) administrator William Reilly to halt all activity at the East Liverpool incinerator as a gesture of good faith during the transition.

Opponents, who have fought the incinerator project for 12 years, charge that the original permit was illegally issued, that ownership of the incinerator has been illegally changed many times and that there have been many other violations. If the company had to reapply for a permit, the incinerator could not occupy its present site on the Ohio River 1,100 feet from an elementary school under current Ohio law. Opponents also recently presented evidence that WTI is linked to organized-crime figures in New Jersey and thus may not be eligible to operate the incinerator under Ohio law.

The EPA has bent over backward to accommodate WTI and avoid enforcing its own rules. Last spring, WTI asked Vice President Dan Quayle to intervene on its behalf to accelerate approval of permits. The self-described "people's advocate" from EPA assigned to answer opponents' questions about the incinerator, which would dump heavy metals, dioxin and other dangerous incineration products into the river valley atmosphere, recently resigned to work for Waste Management, Inc., one of the principal contracted suppliers of waste to the plant.

While Gore spoke out against the incinerator during the campaign, Clinton's views aren't clear. This year he approved start-up of a heavily criticized hazardous-waste incinerator in his home state. Also, the initial investor in WTI, who apparently was bought out in 1990, was a firm controlled by Arkansas banker Jackson Stephens, one of the biggest bankrollers of Clinton's presidential campaign and earlier political career. Although opponents are convinced that any fair review of the case would shut down the incinerator, they have grave doubts about entrusting the investigation to the General Accounting Office (GAO). Previously, the GAO made a cursory investigation, interviewing only the EPA and WTI before issuing its report.

—David Moberg

POLES APART

Abortion issue divides a Catholic country

It's shaping up as Poland's Waterloo. Or perhaps the Crusades are a better analogy. Or maybe the sacking of Rome.

Whatever the case, the showdown over the ultra-sensitive issue of abortion is coming to an unpleasant head in 95 percent-Catholic Poland. Conservative Christian politicians, backed by the powerful Polish Roman Catholic Church, have introduced into the Sejm, the Polish parliament, yet another bill to outlaw abortion. But even in this country where national identity and religion converge as nowhere else in Eastern Europe, the church and its frontmen find themselves swimming against the popular tide. And the stakes, they realize, are high indeed. The issue has already divided Polish society and could well destabilize the country's fragile ruling coalition.

As it now stands, the bill would introduce the most extreme abortion legislation in Europe. Not only would terminating a pregnancy be illegal, but women who do so would be subject to two years' imprisonment. Exceptions would be made only if a woman's life—and not simply her "health"—were endangered. Even in cases of rape or incest the procedure would be illegal. The legislation would also put an end to pre-natal screening and "morning-

MEDIA BEAT

By Pat Aufderheide

Lawyer's heaven

One of the 1992 Cable Act's provisions could strike at the heart of cable television's only free-speech forum: public access.

Access channels are a modest gesture toward serving the public interest on cable. They're not even required nationally; their existence on perhaps 15 percent of the nation's systems is almost always testimony to local organizing. Cable system owners have always seen

them as a major headache.

Now, these operators may have an excuse to get rid of access channels.

Buried in the depths of the law is a last-minute amendment giving operators permission to

ban sexually explicit behavior and actions conducive to unlawful conduct. The amendment also makes operators liable for obscenity on public-access shows.

This provision puts editorial control in the hands of the operator, taking it away from the people who make the programs. ("Access centers," the studios for access channels, exist only to help people make programs, not to serve as programmers.)

Cable operators often dislike access channels because



they take up otherwise profitable space. But access channels are also the only place on television where non-professionals can get up on a "video soapbox," as Congress called it. Sometimes that has meant that the Ku Klux Klan gets on the air. But others then get on the air in response. In Fort Wayne, Ind., the long-running *Coalition for Unlearning Racism* program, produced by civil-rights and minority groups, began as a result of a threat of KKK programming.

Those who run the access centers see public access as a place where people's passions and problems become the subject of public and civic debate. Deb Vinsel in Olympia, Wash., has fought off criticisms of an obstreperous teen show: "If it has an audience, it's part of your community, even if you wish it were not."

Chicago access director Barbara Popovic points with pride to *AIDS Call-in Live*, for expanding public dialogue on a life-and-death issue.

If the FCC rules that operators can require access centers to certify all programming as safe, many directors say their programming would have to change, possibly eliminating all live programs. Some say they might quit—they didn't get into the business to be censors.

Meanwhile, an even worse legal nightmare is brewing. Time Warner, which has extensive cable holdings, is charging in court that operators ought not to have to carry access at all, because they are now responsible for programming they didn't design.

© 1992 Pat Aufderheide

after" contraceptive methods.

The bill presents liberal and democratic forces in Poland with a quandary—especially since many consider the budget the country's first priority and would gladly see the abortion bill forced through to clear the docket.

But no matter when the bill is considered, politicians know the issue will not just vanish. Opinion polls consistently show that more than 70 percent of Poles oppose the criminalization of abortion. The Catholic Church, on the other hand, has come down heavily on lawmakers to back the long-awaited abortion bill. Otherwise, the church hierarchy insinuates, they put political futures at risk.

Opposition to the bill has coalesced around demands for a popular referendum. Its advocates, an alliance of social democrats and ex-communists, acknowledge that the chances of a popular vote are slim. Most politicians—particularly the ruling seven-party coalition—want to avoid at any cost a plebiscite on Catholic values. Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka, Poland's answer to Margaret Thatcher, has already warned against precipitating a "religious war" that would polarize the country when unity is most needed.

But Suchocka's worst fears lie even closer to home. The issue could easily bring down the shaky coalition, whose two pillars are the liberal Democratic Union and the extreme right-wing Catholic National Union (CNU).

That, however, doesn't faze the CNU's religious zealots. "Fundamental values, that are the basis of both individual and social lives, must be set in place," warned one CNU chief, "whether some politicians like it or not."

—Paul Hockenos & Jasper Tilbury

SPEAKING FOR THEMSELVES

Grass roots demand accountability from Green Giants

In no uncertain terms, white, middle-class environmental groups have been put on notice: they do not represent the grass roots when it comes to national environmental policy.

That message came from the Southwest Network for Environmental and Economic Justice. Getting wind of discussions between the Clinton transition team and members of some of the nation's biggest environmental organizations, the Southwest Network swung into action.

Angered at being "shut out of this process" the Southwest Network—an Albuquerque-based group of 71 organizations in six states and Mexico that is led by Latinos, American Indians, African-Americans and Asians—fired off a memorandum to seven member organizations of the so-called "Group of Ten," reminding them that there is more than one shade of green.

"We can only presume that decisions are being made which will impact our communities, or that our communities are in fact being ignored," the Southwest Network said in its November 6 memo to the Environmental Defense Fund, Friends of the Earth, National Audubon Society, National Wildlife Federation, Natural Resources Defense Fund, Sierra Club and the Wilderness Society.

"We hold your organizations accountable and responsible for any negative consequences for our communities which may result from your discussions with President-elect Clinton."

—Robin Epstein

I N P E R S O N



FOLLOWING LA FOLLETTE

*Tammy Baldwin is a
Progressive with a capital P*

In 1976, in Madison, Wis., some students at Van Hise Middle High School raised the ire of neighborhood residents by smoking cigarettes in backyards and trampling flower beds. But other students like Tammy Baldwin were trying to mend fences. "I did a lot of outreach work with the neighborhood to improve school-community relations," says Baldwin. "It was really exciting to bring some of the neighbors into the school to meet with some of the student leaders and faculty."

Political hyperbole? Not exactly. Baldwin, now 30, sounds like she was genuinely thrilled. Her life's mission is to "bring people into politics who have been traditionally overlooked."

Last month voters in the university neighborhoods of Madison elected Baldwin to represent the city's liberal 78th District in the Wisconsin State Assembly. Baldwin describes her ideology as Progressive. She takes inspiration from two of her heroes, Wisconsin's own Belle Case La Follette, an early femi-

ETC.

By Glenora Croucher

Dumps and defects

Add "home address" to the long list of things pregnant women should worry about. A joint study by the New York State Department of Health and Yale University found that women who live within one mile of an inactive hazardous-waste dump are 12 percent more likely to bear a child with a major birth defect than women fortunate enough to live farther away. Even more disturbing, the likelihood of bearing a malformed child jumps 63 percent for women living less than a mile from "high risk" dumps where chemicals had probably moved off site.

Absolut silence

The executives at Absolut Vodka say that—if they have to—they'll "play hardball" with *Adbusters Quarterly*, whose satirical ads, they claim, have done "irreparable damage" to the company's reputation. So *Adbusters* is throwing out the next pitch. The Vancouver-based magazine is sending its "Absolute Silence" ad as a public-service announcement to about 100 magazines across North America. The ad, done in the style of the Absolut Vodka ads, features a picture of a coffin and reads, "Absolute Silence: The birthdays, the graduation, the wedding day... we were there to toast them all, so from one great spirit to another, here's to the most enduring ritual of them all."

Earlier this year, the magazine angered the Swedish vodka giant with a spoof ad that read, "Absolut Nonsense: Any suggestion that our advertising campaign has contributed to alcoholism, drunk driving or wife and child beating is absolute nonsense. No one pays any attention to advertising."

Rattling the Hangers

Who says sex has to be part of a good marriage? Not Lee McMullin and Rob Wilson, two red-blooded heterosexual American guys who want to get married—to each other. McMullin, 39, and Wilson, 35, have applied for a marriage license in Honolulu, saying they want to enter into a relationship of "financial convenience." The two have been living together for two and a half years, and they apparently like each other better than any of the women they've dated. And since Hawaii's Supreme Court is currently considering whether to grant people in non-traditional relationships—specifically homosexuals—the same benefits married couples enjoy, McMullin and Wilson decided to tie the knot. But they discussed the prospect first with members of the anti-gay Rutherford Institute. The two men, however, say they have nothing against homosexuals. Says McMullin, "If the state is going to recognize non-traditional marriages, this is about as non-traditional as you can get."

nist and social justice activist, and her husband Robert, the leader of the Progressive Party.

"What impresses me in this state about the the Progressive tradition—the La Follette tradition—is that it focuses on citizen involvement and citizen initiative. We can't have an effective representational system if it doesn't involve a diverse cross section of the community."

Baldwin believes an effective, caring public policy depends on electing progressive women, racial minorities and gay people to office, rather than only progressive, white, heterosexual males. Though not born in a log cabin, Baldwin has the equivalent political prerequisites for the culturally diverse '90s.

Baldwin was raised in a biracial family with a white mother and an African-American stepfather. The family lived in a poor section of Madison and she grew up knowing the hatred and bigotry that society inflicts on minorities and the poor. "I'd walk with my father and people would always stare at this little blond-haired girl with the big black man," she recalls. "One time a police officer stopped and questioned us. I remember believing he thought there really was something wrong. My family was different."

The future family of Baldwin, who is single, will also be different. In her junior year at Smith College, Baldwin realized that she preferred the intimacy of women. Consequently, sitting alongside Mr. and Mrs. La Follette in Baldwin's political pantheon are two political figures from the '70s, Harvey Milk, the gay San Francisco supervisor who was assassinated in 1979, and Elaine Noble of Massachusetts, the country's first openly lesbian elected official. Claiming a piece of Wisconsin history, Baldwin will be her state's first openly homosexual state officeholder.

In 1986, Baldwin, then 24 and a law student at UW, was elected to the Dane County Board of Supervisors in a campaign that focused on civil rights issues. This month Baldwin will finish up her sixth year on the board. In January it's on to her seat in the state legislature. Fortunately for women legislators, says Baldwin, the state assembly position now carries the title "Rep."—and not the irresistibly punnable "State Ass."

As a state rep, she will set her sights on the social policies of Republican Gov. Tommy Thompson. In 1986, Thompson was elected through a spate of slick political commercials that bashed welfare recipients and subtly appealed to racist sentiments.

"I want to bring a particular awareness of the role of privilege in society to our state government," says Baldwin. "I wasn't analyzing class struggles and racial oppression at eight or nine years old, I was living it. Whether we're talking about discrimination against gays or lesbians or being on the wrong end of privilege—the effects are devastating." Baldwin recalls answering the telephone at her campaign headquarters after winning the all-important Democratic nomination in September: "A woman called me and she was crying. She said, 'I feel like the political system recognizes me and what I'm about for the first time in my life.' I almost cried too."

David Clarenbach, speaker pro tem of the Wisconsin State Assembly, describes Baldwin as "truly a rising star."

How far does Baldwin see her own star rising? Like a good politician, she answers, "If I could see myself being able to make a difference at another level of government, I am certainly open to that. The most potential for changing priorities is at the federal level. But at this point it is very clear to me that the state legislature is where I need to be."

— Mike Leon

T H E F I R S T S T O N E

IRANGATE'S BLOODY MESS

By Joel Bleifuss

S ometime around midnight on Sunday, November 1, Gail Spiro, 40, and her three children—Dina, 11, Adam, 14, and Sara, 16—were murdered. Their bodies were discovered on Thursday, November 5, in the bedrooms of the \$1.2 million house the British family had rented in Rancho Santa Fe, a wealthy San Diego suburb. Their heads had been blown open by shots from a high-powered handgun.

One week later, the family's father, Ian Spiro, 46, was also found dead, slumped over the wheel of his Ford Explorer, which was parked in the desert 69 miles east of Rancho Santa Fe. He had died from cyanide poisoning about four days after his family was killed.

The San Diego Sheriff's Department is basing its investigation on the premise that Ian Spiro murdered his family and then committed suicide. But those who knew him are convinced that he and his wife and children were murdered, and that their killings are connected to Spiro's work in the world of espionage, particularly his involvement in the Iran-connected intelligence scandals of the Reagan-Bush era.

Who was Ian Spiro?

Con Coughlin, who has been covering the case for the *Sunday Telegraph* of London, reports that "various intelligence services" had an interest in keeping Spiro quiet. Coughlin is also the author of a recent book about Terry Waite, *Hostage*.

And Gavin Hewitt in his book, *Terry Waite and Ollie North: The Untold Story of the Kidnapping and the Release*, writes, "Spiro worked for both British and American intelligence, although he was closer to the latter. He was described as a man who carried out 'deep covert operations.' One person who knew him said that 'he was on no intelligence register but was a man without whom no agency could operate.'"

Intelligence Newsletter, the Paris-based fortnightly of the espionage industry, featured the case as the lead story in its December 3 issue. Spiro's death, observed the newsletter, has

removed from the scene "probably one of the last embarrassing witnesses to the Irangate 'arms for hostages' negotiations."

Intelligence Newsletter reports that in 1977 Spiro left London and moved to Beirut, where he had earlier attended an exclusive boarding school. In 1979 he became friends with leaders of the Amal movement. In 1982, through connections with Iranian arms dealers, Spiro established contacts with the leaders of the Hezbollah. And sometime during that period he began meeting regularly with William Buckley, the CIA's Beirut station chief who was killed in 1985 in captivity as a hostage.

Hewitt writes, "After the blowing up of the American embassy in Beirut and the abduction of CIA Station Chief

William Buckley, [Spiro] was regarded as one of the few resources the CIA had left in Lebanon. Later in 1988, Spiro was to play an important role in acquiring [information about] Buckley's confessions, what he had revealed under torture."

In 1985, Spiro began working with Col. Oliver North, who was the Reagan White House point man for the hostage crisis. North introduced Spiro to Terry Waite, the British envoy of the archbishop of Canterbury. Later that year Spiro put Waite in touch with the kidnappers, and he was one of the last people to see Waite before he was kidnapped in 1987.

Waite, who was released a year ago, has refused to confirm that Spiro was involved in the hostage negotiations. Douglas Thompson of the *International Express* reports that Waite has warned that "'half-informed' speculation about contacts Spiro made in the Middle East while trying to secure the release of Western hostages was dangerous."

And Coughlin writes that when one of North's former colleagues, who asked to remain anonymous, talked to him about Spiro's death, the following conversation resulted:

North: "Do I know the guy?"

Colleague: "Yes, Ollie, you do."

North: "Oh gee, that's right. It's real bad news about what happened to those poor kids."

Spiro may also have been a player in what is known as the October Surprise, allegations that the 1980 Reagan-Bush campaign made a secret arms-for-no-hostages deal with the Ayatollah Khomeini to hold the American hostages held in Iran until after the election.

Spiro had close ties to the Iranian government. According to *Intelligence Newsletter*, friends in Amal introduced Spiro to Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani and the late Cyrus Hashemi. Both men were allegedly involved in the October Surprise deal. At that time Rafsanjani was speaker of the Iranian parliament, and now is president of Iran. In 1980 Hashemi was an Iranian arms merchant with ties to Rea-

gan-Bush campaign director William Casey. Coughlin reports that in the first half of the '80s Spiro worked "closely" with Hashemi dealing weapons to Iran. "He proved his worth to Teheran by arranging a consignment of much-needed arms for Iran's war against Iraq," writes Coughlin.

Back in London in 1990, Spiro worked as an agent for the British company Vickers, selling intensive-care units to the Foundation of Martyrs, a society that aids veterans of the Islamic holy war. Which brings up another theory of what could have led to his death. Barry Hugill, writing in the *Observer*, reports that Spiro swindled the foundation, which is headed by Fatima Karrubi, the wife of Mehdi Karrubi, the current speaker of the Iranian parliament. After learning her foundation had been cheated, Fatima was reportedly livid. A London-based Iranian journalist told Hugill that Spiro was a "very stupid man." He said, "It is not intelligent to try and trick the Foundation of Martyrs."

Last April Spiro and his family moved to suburban San Diego. Coughlin reports that this past summer Spiro, who was in a financial bind, "decided to renew his contacts with the leaders of Lebanon's kidnap groups."

Coughlin speculates that the "likely" reason Spiro got back in touch with his friends in the Lebanese Hezbollah was that Spiro, "in his desperation to raise funds to sustain his opulent California lifestyle, intended to blackmail the kidnappers." Coughlin, contradicting the official British government line, writes that "there is no doubt that the leaders of the kidnap gangs were handsomely rewarded for releasing their captives. Spiro may have felt he could persuade them to give him a share of the spoils in return for not exposing them." Coughlin told me he believes another factor leading to Spiro's demise might have been the State Department's recently reiterated offer to pay cash for information leading to the arrest and conviction of the hostage-takers in Lebanon.

In the weeks before his death, Spiro approached the British press, offering to sell them his story. *The Sunday Telegraph* turned Spiro down. But not the tabloid *The People*, where his cousin, Nigel Spiro, was a reporter.

Nigel Spiro, who is currently in hiding, told the *Sunday Telegraph* that his cousin had planned to reveal secrets of the deal the British government made to get Waite and two other hostages released. He believes that led to what he considers to be the murder of Ian Spiro and his family.

The People's David Alford reports that prior to his death, Spiro told him

that he would give him documented proof of the hostage deal by late November. Spiro told Alford, "I have all the details that will show the British government dealt directly with terrorists, although they were publicly saying they would never deal with men of violence."

Some people believe that men of violence dealt privately with Spiro before he could tell his story. Spiro's brother-in-law, Ken Quarton, told Agnes Roletti of the *San Diego Union* that a few days before his sister and her children were killed, Spiro had told him that he had received threatening phone calls. According to Quarton, Spiro had said, "Something has come back to haunt me and if you want to know what it is read the book by Terry Waite."

Intelligence Newsletter observes, "By murdering his whole family, [the killers] have clearly sent out a bloody message to other Irangate witnesses who may be tempted to speak out." Not many such witnesses are left. Amin Sleit, Terry Waite's Druze bodyguard in Lebanon, was assassinated in September 1990. Israeli agent Amiram Nir, who had begun to talk to the press, died in a plane crash over Mexico in November 1988. Mehdi Hashemi, the Iranian who leaked the 1986 arms-for-hostages deal to the Lebanese newspaper *Al-Shiraa*, was executed in Teheran in August 1987. And Cyrus Hashemi died mysteriously of a sudden case of leukemia in July 1986 after an Arab-language weekly began serializing his memoirs. ◀

THE ADVENTURES OF A HUGE MOUTH

by Peter Hannan



S O M A L I A

Savaging the soul of a nation

I *A leading Somali novelist meditates on his homeland's collapse.*

By Nuruddin Farah

Nobel Prize-winning South African author Nadine Gordimer calls Somali novelist Nuruddin Farah "one of the real interpreters of experience on our troubled continent." Farah's award-winning trilogy of novels, *Variations on the Theme of an African Dictatorship* (see review on page 35), explores the devastation caused by authoritarian governments in contemporary Africa.

It's a tragedy Farah knows all too well. During his lifetime, what is now the Republic of Somalia has gone from British and Italian rule, to independence, to the dictatorial 1969-1991 government of Siad Barre, to today's anarchy. Farah's opposition to the Barre government forced him to flee his country in 1974, and ever since he has lived in exile, recently in Uganda and now in Nigeria. He is working on a non-fiction book on African refugees in Europe.

In a telephone interview with the Italian newspaper *La Stampa* some two and a half years ago, I had spoken of my feeling of foreboding, spoken of a civil war in embryo, of a Somalia whose people were very likely going to savage themselves into total extinction. Precisely a year later, I would forewarn the then-chairman of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), Uganda's President Kaguta Museveni, that unless the outside world intervened, Somalia would

be plunged into total anarchy. Siad Barre had not been chased out of his citadel of disrepute by that time, and Gen. Mohamed Farrah Aidid's men had not "taken" Mogadishu, nor had many of us heard of the names of the other warlords whose criminal activities have since held the nation's destiny to ignominious ransom. I remember suggesting to President Museveni, at the beginning of January 1991, when I met him for several hours in the presence of his minister of state for external affairs, that he convene a meeting in Kampala under OAU auspices and that he invite all the parties to the conflict. Left to me, I asserted, I would talk to anyone to avert a civil strife in Somalia, if need be I would hold a dialogue with Satan, even if his human name is Siad Barre.

President Museveni spoke long-windedly, pontificating on the cynicism of his divided loyalties: because, as chairman of the OAU, he could not undertake any activity that might be construed as "interference in the internal affairs of another sovereign sister state." On the other hand, although his sympathies might be with the rebels whom he wished well, he had no choice but to reject my thesis that Siad Barre be invited not as a head of state but just as another warlord. No doubt he was conscious of the ironies involved when he pointed out that until then none of the rebel movements in Somalia had submitted their accreditation to the OAU, the very body of which he happened to be chairman. He went on: "Pray, how can I justify putting them on a par with a fellow head of state?"

Before we parted, President Museveni was kosher enough to advise me to heed the counsel of a politician who knew what he was talking about, adding, "Maybe you are a very good novelist, maybe an outstanding professor of literature, but when it comes to politics, let me tell you, you are too naive. If you want my advice, stay away from it."

I couldn't at first work out why my suggestion to think of Siad Barre as just another warlord had raised his hackles up, but it wasn't long before I remembered that Museveni too had shot his way to power. At any rate, I hated the idea of parting with him on a note of discord, or of falling out with him on matters of definition: and I desisted from asking him how anyone expected me to "stay away" from something as amorphous as politics. After several more attempts, we agreed on a *modus operandi*, namely that the Uganda government's good offices would make contact with Siad Barre through the Somali Embassy in Kampala, and would subsequently get in touch with the various factions via their representatives in Europe and East Africa with a view to convening an urgent OAU-sponsored meeting in Kampala.

However, when, after a fortnight, more than 1,000 innocent civilians lost their lives in crossfire between the United

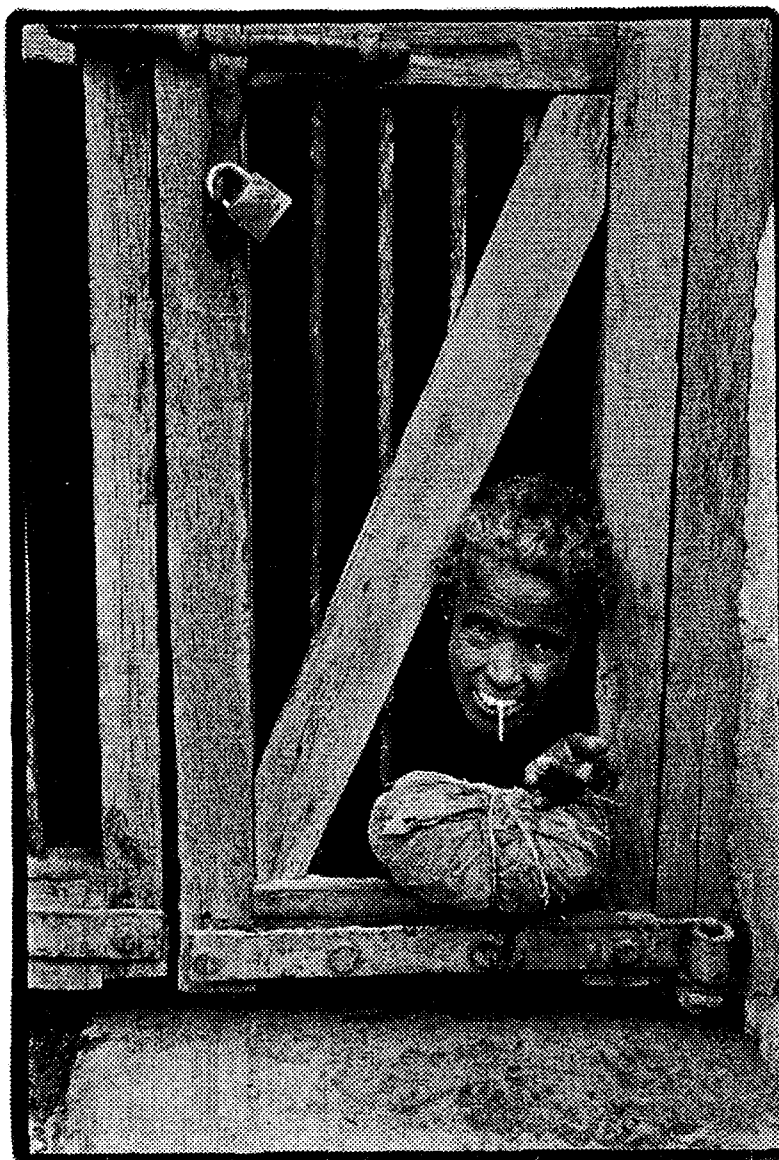
Somali Congress and Siad Barre loyalists; when the Somali *chargé d'affaires* in Kampala chose to be discourteous, deciding not to honor Museveni's invitation; when it turned out that having dismissed my ominous remarks rather unceremoniously, he would not give a moment of his presidential time to the Somali crisis because he had his eyes glued, as did the rest of the world, to his TV set watching the fireworks, the bonfire and fanfare of the Gulf War's laser-beam extravaganza; in short, when no action was taken on any of the points we had agreed on, I accused Museveni of ineptness. For his part, Museveni went on the attack at a press conference, describing me as a man with insatiable demands for controversies. Given that I am no equal to an African head of state in whose country I was living, I resigned my job as professor at Makerere and left for another country in the hope of revising a novel in the quiet of my seclusion, leaving politics to those who knew better than I.

I cannot help wondering what thoughts crossed Museveni's mind when not long ago he toured the unsightly devastation that has been visited upon Mogadishu; I cannot help asking myself if he remembers our conversation and how we might have been at the cutting edge in averting the crisis: if only he had paid heed to a native writer's suggestion two years ago.

In Somalia, anarchy is the order of the day, anarchy with its own rationale, and which perforce bows to its own sense of power-mongering and to no one else's. The country is in irons, its fate tied to the destiny of its warlords, of whom there are as many as there are clans in the nation—warlords who are a law unto themselves, with no allegiance to traditional, scriptural or secular power, only to themselves, to their ambition, that of imposing their will on a people refusing to afford them the acquiescence of the ruled. Do these mad fools not realize that you cannot govern a people against their volition, especially after a tyrant has been booted out?

No doubt the mysterious workings of a warlord's mind are not for me to unravel, although perhaps in a roundabout way, because I am unable to negotiate my way round the blind bends of a tyranny of total helplessness, I might as well explain why I prefer the version of the Cain-killed-Abel myth in which the two brothers fight over the inheritance rights of a property that neither is destined to inherit. Granted, a couple of significant lessons to be culled from the Cain-killed-Abel myth are that human beings are the only species known to be "mass murderers" and that death has a name in Somalia, a name to which it answers: that of a warlord who's caught the virus of insanity.

Do warlords have an organized form of politics in the shadow of whose nebulae a writer might pursue his vocation? Would it be wise for a novelist who's lived in exile for 18 years to fly straight into a city replete with bandits who've been infected with the epidemics of lunacy, maraud-



A patient left behind when hospital staff members fled Berbera during clan fighting.

©1992 Nana Reimers/2.Maj./Impact Visuals

ers who operate on a free-for-all basis without regard to human dignity or life and who engage in an insane rivalry of fratricidal overkill?

I've read somewhere that the First World War's first shot was fired somewhere in Bosnia. If that is so, then perhaps we are in a position to isolate the one event out of which all this anarchy arose, a shot that was fired at a checkpoint outside Mogadishu's city limits by one or other of the men said to belong to one or the other of the militia movements. And if, as they say, the devil hides in the detail, then do let's smoke him out by stating right away that the shot was fired on the afternoon of the very morning Siad Barre fled the citadel of his corrupt power base. No one is certain who gave the order, or if any of the warlords meant to exploit the all-pervasive tension. I'm more than certain we would tell a different tale about Somalia today if the shot hadn't been fired.

Sadly, I hear the echo of the first shot and replay it very often in the ears of my recall. And I remember being overwhelmed with the oddest of sensations, as if an insect began to crawl down my spine, toward the nether regions of my self-reprimand. When someone first told it to me, I remember a most awkward sensation, as if the archangel of death had served his notice on me; as if I died a quick death, but just before doing so, was able to think ahead: and I saw corpses, hundreds, thousands of unburied bodies, and a million people fleeing a savaging crisis. I spoke of these worries

to a Ugandan friend, who put it to me that I had better not speak of any of that to anybody. My Ugandan friend talked of my pent-up anxieties, that of a national who is preoccupied about the survival of his country. But why did the firing of that first bullet shock me so?

Bullets and guns, disruptive instruments of coercion, weapons that have been imported by one ruling oligarchy or another for a purpose, that of pacifying people into submission. I associate so much destruction with that single bullet, which keeps ringing in the ears of my memory, and I think of a world brought to its knees; and in the echo of its distant sound I hear the pleas of the dying, I hear the whimpers of dying babies, whimpers not so very different from those of a slaughtered goat. And when I replay the ringing horror, I hear in the imagination of my recall that first shot that was fired by the colonial powers to pacify the country so as to exploit it. After all, a hawk needs powerful claws to catch its prey, doesn't it?

A Somali proverb has it that a coward gathers far too many sticks. Tyrants, whether they appear in the guise of colonialists or post-colonialists, have a way of displaying their cowardice by amassing machines of destruction—in fact, the more insecure the state, the more weapons it accumulates. It follows then that the first to bring large quantities of weapons into Somalia were the European powers; the next to do so was Siad Barre. In an interview I gave to a London-based African magazine, I remember cracking what I then took to be a joke: that every weapon imported into our continent must carry a warning: that bullets maim; that guns kill; that tanks make coup d'états possible. Why, cigarettes bear a warning alerting smokers and non-smokers alike of the dangers they might cause. Now, guns aren't locally made, any more than the toxic waste which has recently been exported to Somalia by Europeans exploiting the suicidal nature, the disruption of civic society. Because one of the marauding warlords has more guns at his disposal, the other—to finance the maverick ambition of equaling his firepower—sells a few kilometers of the coast under his domain. Between brothers, says a Spanish proverb, two witnesses and a notary. What a tragedy!

In an article published in Britain's *Guardian* in November 1989, I expressed the opinion that come December

I told the OAU chairman that I would talk to anyone to avert civil strife in Somalia. If need be I would hold a dialogue with Satan, even if his name is Siad Barre.

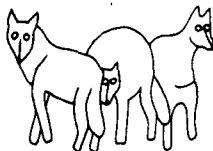
Variations on the Theme of an African Dictatorship

BY SOMALI AUTHOR
NURUDDIN FARAH

"Nuruddin Farah is one of the *real* interpreters of experience on our troubled continent." --Nadine Gordimer

The titles in this trilogy, *Sweet & Sour Milk* (1-55597-159-8), *Sardines* (1-55597-161-X), and *Close Sesame* (1-55597-162-8) are available from your local bookseller at \$12.00 each, or write:

GRAYWOLF PRESS
2402 University Avenue
Suite 203
Saint Paul, MN 55114



1990 Siad Barre would be overthrown, and that I would be driving my newly acquired vehicle overland all the way to Mogadishu. That was not to be. Perhaps it doesn't matter now that Siad Barre was chased out in January 1991, a month later than I had predicted. However, although I had not foreseen how much wanton violence the tyrant's departure would unleash, I had started working on a novel about civil wars at a period when I didn't believe my own prognostics. Somehow I sensed that once Somalia collapsed into absolute anarchy, my novel would die in tandem with my dream, that of returning home.

There is a pattern to civil wars. People and the truths that they hold closest to their hearts become casualties, and both suffer the cruelty of distortion. Novels have their intrinsic truths, poetic notions not given to the impetuosity of impulse or one's surrender to the epidemic lunacy all around. Somalia: a country turned into a madhouse. Is this why I've had to put the novel about the Somali civil war on hold, until sanity returns, until reason reigns absolute?

Over the years I've written my novels about a country bearing resemblances to Somalia. As a novelist I've dwelled in the country of my imagination. It hasn't mattered to me for two decades whether or not I knew the physical layout of the cities that served as the background of the stories I told; for years I've been able to conjure up images of Mogadishu, a city with whose residents I've managed to get in touch at will. Admittedly, there have always been gaps in my anthropological knowledge of these people's day-to-day existence, but this didn't deter me from imagining them and working them into a text as characters. Of late, however, I've failed in raising in them an instinct of humanity: maybe because of the psychic epidemics, and maybe because what's been happening in Somalia defies my understanding. And I think of death, my death, as the first bullet rings again and again in the ears of my recall. I wonder if it is *me* who has died, not my novel!

Just try and find a gift with more thought behind it.

This holiday, give the one gift that's as thoughtful as it is thought-provoking — a subscription to *In These Times*. Simply fill out the coupon below with the names of the lucky folks on your gift list. We'll take it from there, including sending everyone a gift card! Plus, as a special gift to you, the first one year (26 issues) subscription you give will be entered at a very special holiday rate. What's more, every additional gift receives an even lower rate!

Send my first gift, one year for only \$29.95, to:

Name _____

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____

Send my third gift, one year for only \$21.95, to:

Name _____

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____

Send my second gift, one year for only \$25.95, to:

Name _____

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____

☐ Payment enclosed. ☐ Bill me later.

Name _____

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____

Write additional gifts on a separate sheet of paper.

Each gift sent to Canada, add \$27.50 for postage. All other foreign orders add \$41.00 each for postage.

Mail to: In These Times, 1912 Debs Ave., Mt. Morris, IL 61054

Visa and Mastercard orders: Call 1-800-827-0270.

XAH92

Seeds of Change:

The CROSSROADS FUND 1993 Calendar

Seeds of Change features the work of Chicago area photographers and is a compendium of facts, events, and significant dates in Chicago's history.

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY/STATE/ZIP _____

QUANTITY _____ COST: \$14.95 EACH (postpaid) please allow 4 weeks for delivery

The CROSSROADS FUND is a source of funding for progressive organizations throughout the Chicago metropolitan area working for peace, equality, and economic justice. CROSSROADS is a publicly supported foundation and seeks both large and small annual donations.

THE CROSSROADS FUND 3411 W. Diversey #20 CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60647
(312) 227-7676

C O N G R E S S

Old boys, new world

R

ecent sexual-harassment charges against Oregon Republican Sen. Bob Packwood come as little surprise to Washington insiders. Those who have worked on Capitol Hill have long known it as a sexual combat zone.

The anecdotes range from the innocuous to the downright criminal. One former senator, for example, was so notorious for forcing young women into sexual situations that staffers were warned never to travel overseas with him. A Seattle attorney who once worked on the Hill still shudders when he tells of a friend coming to him in the early '70s. She was crying and shaking as she told him about her "fact-finding" mission. "I've been raped," she whispered, too afraid to press charges.

It's understandable why so many women feel political power and sex don't

mix. Says Sen.-elect Patty Murray (D-WA) about Packwood: "We don't accept this kind of behavior in the private sector. We shouldn't accept it in the U.S. Senate." She's right, of course, but the Senate conveniently exempts itself from discrimination laws passed prior to 1991.

The Packwood situation, however, raises problems not only for the recently re-elected senator but also for the old boys of the club and the new girls who just got in. It also underlines some tricky questions about what conduct is fair to consider in weighing a politician's fitness for office, and how some women's groups go about picking their friends on the Hill.

Right now, the 60-year-old Packwood's fate hangs in the uncertain hands of the Senate Ethics Committee, which has two vacancies to fill and has never dealt with a sexual harassment case before. And with allegations also looming over Hawaii Democrat Daniel Inouye, Packwood's case is suddenly taking on added significance. "The climate here couldn't be worse" for something like the

Packwood case, says one veteran Senate staffer.

In large part, that's because the Senate is in the midst of a historic generational and gender shift that may forever change the cigar-clouded culture of that most exclusive of clubs. If 1991 was the Senate's final fling of fraternal favoritism—witness the Clarence Thomas hearings—1992 was the beginning of the feminization of the upper chamber. In November, four new women (Murray, Dianne Feinstein and Barbara Boxer of California, and Carol Moseley Braun of Illinois) were elected—swelling the Senate's female ranks to six from the previous two. Most of the newcomers, at least initially, ran in response to the all-male Senate Judiciary Committee grilling of Anita Hill.

When Murray first heard the Packwood allegations, broken by the *Washington Post* November 22, she tried to refrain from attacking her new colleague. But she couldn't hide her sense of outrage. She is now vowing to pass a Senate sexual-harassment policy or create a stink trying.

Murray's move is inevitable. The 1992 election showed not even the Senate could any longer resist the gender change that has so dramatically altered the American workplace in the past 20 years. What other body, outside pro sports, was 98 percent male as recently as a few weeks ago? Packwood seems to be a symbol of the time warp. When he arrived in 1969, he was the Senate's youngest member at just 36. Now 60, divorced and fighting for his political life, it's as if his early behavior never changed despite the world around developing a very different code of conduct.

Indeed, Packwood is not alone. "There are a lot of these guys looking at Packwood and thinking, 'There but for the grace of God go I,'" confides one long-time Senate

*For years, the
U.S. Senate
has been
one big,
federally
funded
playboy club.
But that may
soon change.*

By John Wilson



staffer. In fact, the Packwood case bears some striking similarities to the allegations of sexual harassment—and, in one case, of rape—that drove Sen. Brock Adams, Murray's predecessor, out of office earlier this year.

Now feminists are clamoring for Packwood's resignation or expulsion from the Senate. In part, it's because of their sense of betrayal and the righteous indignation of the moment. For the last 12 years, with the steady erosion of abortion rights, feminists have rushed to friends wherever they found them. Bob Packwood, one of the few vocal pro-choice Senate Republicans with a reputation for promoting women to top staff positions, was on their "A" list. In fact, the National Abortion Rights Action League (NARAL) even endorsed Packwood over his 1992 rival, pro-choice Democrat Les AuCoin.

Some feminists argue that Packwood, Adams and men like them cynically use abortion as an issue to assuage their

guilty consciences. But given how widespread rumors were of Packwood's womanizing, it's unlikely that groups such as NARAL hadn't heard about them. (A former NARAL lobbyist, in fact, is among the senator's accusers.) And this raises a question about who is using whom. In fact, it makes some of the feminist leaders look every bit as cynical as the business fat cat who covers his bets by donating to both the Republican and the Democrat in the same race.

There may be no women on the Senate Ethics Committee when the Packwood case comes before it. On Capitol Hill, ethics panel duty is considered just this side of political purgatory. So far, none of the new women senators is clamoring for the seat.

In the end, however, it may not matter whether a woman serves on the Ethic Committee. First, barring more sensational revelations, Packwood's colleagues are likely to want to get the controversy behind them as soon as possible. There are enough of the old boys still around who will want the committee to perform its time-honored role of gentle scolder instead of high-

profile executioner. After all, Adams kept his head down and was allowed to quietly finish his term, and so far, the Packwood allegations look less serious.

Second, it's more likely the Senate's women will make a bigger difference on the floor of the venerable chamber than in the committee room of the six-member ethics panel. After the Thomas hearings and the Adams and Packwood allegations, Murray should have no trouble passing some kind of tougher sexual-harassment policy for the Senate. And that would go further to break the Senate's sexual time warp than the futility of fighting to dump a boorish man suffering a delayed mid-life crisis.

It would also be a final irony for Bob Packwood. For 24 years, he cherished his role as a maverick and a champion of women. And he might be able to advance their cause again—but as a symbol of what ails the Senate

John Wilson is the political reporter for the *Seattle Weekly*.

L A W

The man who ended the Reagan era

E

veryone has a choice for when the era of Reagan conservatism ended. Was it Ronald Reagan telling the *Washington Times* in December 1987 that the Soviet Union no longer sought world domination? Or was it George Bush in June 1990 reneging on his pledge not to raise taxes?

Neither. I believe the end of an era occurred last June when Anthony Kennedy, whom Reagan appointed to the Supreme Court in 1987, began reading from the bench the abortion decision that he had co-authored with justices Sandra Day O'Connor and David Souter. Kennedy's decision to join the other two jurists ended the national political debate over the constitutionality of *Roe vs. Wade* and the attempt of Reagan conservatives to enact their social agenda through the Supreme Court.

Kennedy's apostasy also demonstrated that a fair

and intelligent person of conservative inclinations, when given high responsibility and removed from immediate political pressures, would eventually develop a judicial philosophy that was at odds with the radical program of Reagan conservatism. Kennedy's experience on the bench was the ultimate litmus test—and conservatism failed it.

Like Harry Blackmun, author of the 1973 *Roe* decision, Kennedy was appointed to the court after two prior nominees were bumped. Kennedy had been an appeals court judge in Sacramento, Calif., who had once drafted a tax bill for Reagan, but was largely apolitical.

As a judge, he appeared inclined to favor employers over employees and to look askance at the constitutional rights that minorities, women and homosexuals claimed were in the 14th Amendment's clause forbidding states to "deprive any person of life, liberty or property, without the due process of law." But in contrast to Robert Bork, Kennedy's decisions did not seem to follow from an ironclad judicial ideology.

On the Supreme Court, however, Kennedy initially sided with Chief Justice William Rehnquist and Justice Antonin Scalia, who, in the name of strict constitutional construction, have sought to overturn many of the prayer, privacy and civil rights rulings of the Warren and Burger courts. From 1988 to 1991, Kennedy sided with Scalia and Rehnquist in more than 80 percent of cases. In 1989, he joined Rehnquist's hard-line ruling in the *Webster vs. Reproductive Health Services* abortion case, and he wrote the court's opinion in *Patterson vs. McLean Credit Union* that racial harassment on the job was not illegal under existing law.

In October 1988, Kennedy dissented, along with Scalia and Rehnquist, from a majority ruling in *Allegheny County vs. Greater Pittsburgh ACLU*. The court majority held that the county violated the "establishment clause" of the First Amendment ("Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting free exercise..."). In dissent, Kennedy argued that as long as "no one was compelled to observe or participate in any religious ceremony or activity," government should have "some latitude in recognizing and accommodating the central role religion plays in our society." Kennedy's opinion seemed to open the door wide to governmental religious functions, including school prayer. The religious right rejoiced.

But in 1991, about the time David Souter came on the court, Kennedy began to move out from Rehnquist and Scalia. He wrote the majority opinion on two cases forbidding jurors in criminal and civil trials from being excluded preemptorily on the grounds on race. In both cases, Rehnquist and Scalia dissented. Then this year, Kennedy broke with Rehnquist and Scalia (now dutifully joined by Clarence

The person of the year? The author has a surprise pick—Supreme Court Justice Anthony Kennedy.

By John B. Judis
WASHINGTON D.C.

Thomas) on a host of decisions on voting rights, free speech and property rights.

Kennedy's rulings were now marked by close attention to the social and historical context in which an action took place. While agreeing with the court majority in *Society for Krishna Consciousness vs. Lee* that airports could bar solicitation on their property, he disagreed that speech in airports was not subject to First Amendment protection.

He wrote: "In a country where most citizens travel by

automobile, and parks all too often become locales for crime rather than social intercourse ... one of the places left ... that is suitable for discourse is a metropolitan airport."

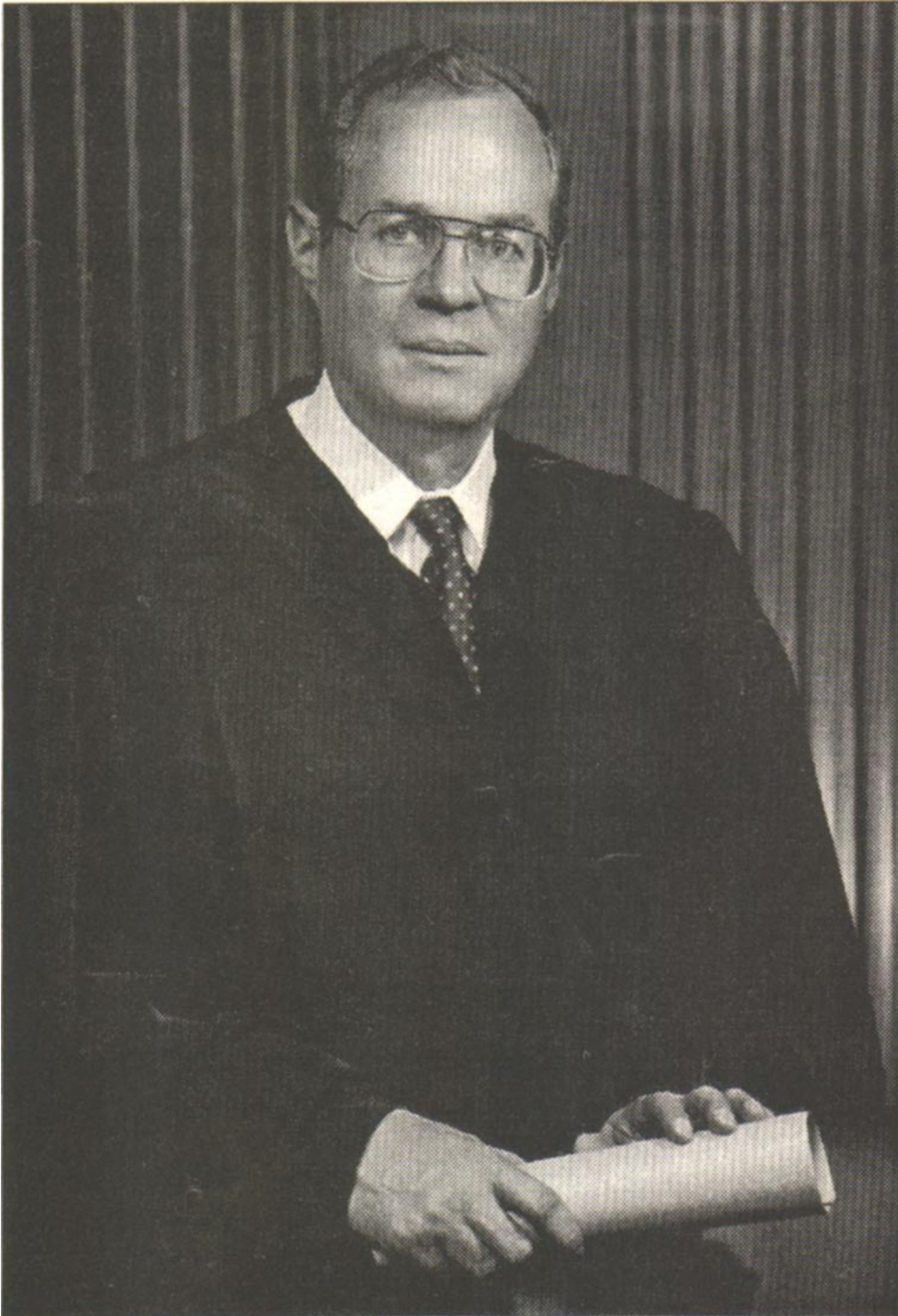
Kennedy's most dramatic break came in *Lee vs. Weisman*, which was decided five days before the *Casey* abortion ruling. The parents of Deborah Weisman, a student at a Pittsburgh middle school, sued school authorities to prevent administrators from inviting clergy to offer prayers as part of their daughter's graduation ceremony. Kennedy, writing

for the majority, ruled on behalf of the Weismans, concluding that the state "required participation in a religious exercise."

Kennedy dismissed the school's contention that attendance was voluntary: "Everyone knows that in our society and in our culture high school graduation is one of life's most significant occasions. ... [I]t is apparent that a student is not free to absent herself from the graduation exercise in any real sense of the term 'voluntary,' for absence would require forfeiture of those intangible benefits which have motivated the student through youth and all her high school years."

By understanding coercion not in legalistic but in social psychological terms, Kennedy forcefully slammed the door on the reinstitution of school prayer. Scalia scornfully dismissed Kennedy's opinion as "psychology practiced by amateurs" and "incoherent."

Kennedy struck his final blow against his legal mentors when he unexpectedly joined O'Connor and Souter in upholding *Roe* on the grounds of the 14th Amendment and the doctrine of *stare decisis*, or the obligation to follow precedents. Echoing the original decision, they argued that the amendment's protections extended to liberties not specified in the original doc-



ument, including the right to privacy.

In the section of the decision that Kennedy read from the bench, and that presumably he wrote, he offered a ringing defense of the right to privacy: "Our law affords constitutional protection to personal decisions relating to marriage, procreation, contraception, family relationships, child rearing and education. ... These matters, involving the most intimate and personal choices a person may make in a lifetime, choices central to personal dignity and autonomy, are central to the liberty protected by the 14th Amendment."

At the same time, O'Connor, Souter and Kennedy argued that *Roe* itself recognized the state's "important and legitimate interest in potential life." They granted Pennsylvania the right to impose a 24-hour waiting period and to require parental consent (with exceptions) for minors on the grounds that states have the right to make sure that the choice of abortion is "thoughtful and informed." But they rejected the requirement of getting a husband's consent because it imposed "an undue burden" on a woman's ability to make this decision. They concluded, "The means calculated to further the interest in potential life must be calculated to inform the woman's free choice not hinder it."

ROUGH CUTS

By JA Reid

Elf-Help Books



Their decision was immediately attacked by both conservatives and feminists. Former Reagan official Bruce Fein charged that the three had "proclaimed an amorphous constitutional right of privacy that can only be destined for idiosyncratic application." Fein warned that the three would soon begin overturning laws against "public nude dancing, polygamy, homosexual marriage or the experimental or regular use of hallucinogens in the home." (Indeed, sodomy laws would seem like an appropriate next step for the rebel trio.)

Anita Allen, a professor at Georgetown Law Center, charged that the decision "steers the court, and with it American women, on a precarious course of false political compromise" and "may do as much harm as good for American women and their families." Allen rejected granting the state a role in regulating "potential life." The decision, Allen charged, treated women as "'containers' or 'vessels' for the fetus." Allen took the extreme opposite view of those who insist that the fetus is a legal person. She implied instead that the state must not be concerned with a fetus until it emerges as a fully formed child.

In fact, Kennedy, O'Connor and Souter's ruling adroitly balanced fundamental constitutional principles against the diversity of law and custom sanctioned by our federal system. This decision was not expedient, but based on a recognition of America's mix of jurisdictions without which the United States might long ago have gone the way of the Soviet Union or Yugoslavia. Some states like Pennsylvania and Utah may wish to erect waiting periods; others will not; but none of these states will be able to block women from having abortions before a fetus is viable.

Conservatives have attributed Kennedy's change of heart to his wanting to ingratiate himself with Washington high society and the *New York Times*, but as an extensive profile of Kennedy in the October *California Lawyer* makes clear, Kennedy remains a retiring man with little interest in fame and publicity. More likely, his movement away from the doctrinaire conservatism of Rehnquist and Scalia is a result of his having tried it and found it wanting.

Kennedy, along with O'Connor and Souter, has now acknowledged what justices as diverse as William Brennan, Lewis Powell and John Harlan had understood: that in making constitutional decisions, the court invariably has to apply words written in the 18th and 19th century to circumstances that their authors never dreamt of—from blacks who serve as jurors to school classes that include 16 different religions and several atheists to women who carve out identities separate from family and husband.

Scalia and Rehnquist and the whole gang of radical reactionaries masquerading as conservatives refuse to understand this, but Kennedy, O'Connor and Souter do. As they wrote in *Casey*, "Our Constitution is a covenant running from the first generation of Americans to us and then to future generations. We accept our responsibility not to retreat from interpreting the full meaning of the covenant in the light of all of our precedents."

A G R I C U L T U R E

Last ditch or front line?

The tractors have been out in the streets of Strasbourg and Brussels as European farmers protest the late November General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) deal between the United States and the European Community (EC). The more complicated the issue, the greater the temptation to translate it into simple terms of national conflict. But burned flags and trade-war dances fail to shed light on what is really at stake.

As their productivity has grown, European farmers have seen their political influence dwindle.

By Diana
Johnstone

To many observers and more than a few of the participants, the protests are a desperate last-ditch attempt to fend off the inevitable death of traditional farming. Even people who can work up protective ecological sympathy for indigenous peoples in the Amazon may find it nonsensical to let a handful of archaic European soil-tillers block the

advance of expanding world trade.

A contrasting view holds that agriculture, because it involves such basic essentials as food and the environment, is not just another economic sector to be governed by trade agreements but must be respected as vital to human life itself. In this view, there is pressing need for a fundamental revision of agricultural policy while there are still any rural people left willing and able to farm in a sustainable way. Trade agreements should follow and respect a new agriculture policy, not precede and determine it.

The special status of agriculture was in fact recognized in the '40s and '50s when GATT and the EC were founded. The United States at first chose to keep its own farm policy protected from GATT negotiations. The EC's Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) was designed to ensure decent income to farmers against fluctuations while improving productivity. It succeeded too well, inciting the overproduction that has built up Europe's legendary surplus grain and butter mountains.

While using different technical instruments and different forms of payments to farmers, farm policies in both Europe and the United States have produced similarly perverse effects: overproduction, aggressive export policies, steadily lowered prices, farmer bankruptcy and rural exodus, not to mention the pollution problems caused by heavy chemical inputs and stepped-up livestock production. The only clear winners have been the grain traders and agribusiness corporations, which are assured cheap raw materials, and the governments, which have been able to factor exports in the plus side of the trade balance. More often than not, farmers have been the losers. Even those who were inspired to go into debt to take part in the stirring mission of "feeding a hungry world" see their own books unbalanced and the world hungrier than ever.

As their productivity has grown, European farmers have seen their political influence dwindle. The farm vote has shrunk drastically as people leave the land. The dwindling rural population, caught up in the contradictions of a complex and artificial policy, cannot envision a clear and sensible alternative. The mounting subsidies for excess produce have undermined much of the traditional public support for farmers, causing them to be viewed as parasites rather than essential food producers.

Farmers in most countries feel betrayed by their political leaders. They can expect no sympathetic understanding from "free market" modernizers whose feeling for country folk is about as tender as that of the late Joseph Stalin. Almost everywhere in the world, farming has been sacrificed to industry, in one way or another. The family farms that replaced serfdom centuries ago are being squeezed out by a



new form of industrial feudalism. Big farms flourish on the northern plains, while hillsides are abandoned to erosion and brush fires. The EC has lost over a third of its farming population in the past 15 years.

Those who are left do not give up easily. Before being driven to lonely suicide by arcane agricultural policy changes, French farmers traditionally make their feelings known. They enjoy a popular support in France that is not as irrational as it is portrayed by the hostile English press. The French know well what their world-famous cuisine owes to the work and ingenuity of genuine country people.

Farmers from Belgium and most other EC countries have joined the protests against the GATT deal. Their anger had been building up for months. The November 20 GATT compromise hit the farmers as they were still reeling from the major reform of the EC's CAP decided just last June. That reform, designed by the EC's Irish Commissioner for Agriculture, Ray MacSharry, spelled disastrous loss of farm income. Hand-written signs sprouted in the cornfields warning that "the EC is killing us." Bitterness against the MacSharry reform of the CAP undermined support for European union in rural France.

The old CAP soaked up fully 60 percent of the whole EC budget, mostly spent on disposing of surpluses. The use of export subsidies was almost universally condemned. Drastic change was inevitable. Reform is an occasion to redefine priorities. On this occasion, the EC Commission chose to give priority to the world market.

The major shock of the reform was a whopping 30 percent cut in cereal prices, along with a 15 percent cut in beef prices and other lesser cuts. The cuts should move European prices toward world market levels, thus favoring exports in a way compatible with U.S. and GATT policy. To sugarcoat this very bitter pill, MacSharry promised compensation pay-

ments indexed to previous average yield. To qualify, larger farms must "set aside" 15 percent of their acreage by taking it out of food production.

The reform is supposed to reduce surpluses, but the European Greens' agricultural policy expert, Hannes Lorenzen, predicts it will have the opposite effect. "Price cuts always incite the farmers who are able to do so to further intensify and produce still more. The minority of big industrial farms will intensify still further. The vast majority of Europe's farmers will have to call it quits," Lorenzen says.

Instead of the crop rotation called for by ecologists, MacSharry settled on "set aside," an idea copied from the United States. Hated by farmers, the scheme is full of loopholes they are sure to use to the utmost. The biggest is that non-food industrial crops such as biomass fuels can be grown on set-aside land. With no

chemical residue counts to worry about, this will be even worse for the environment than food crops.

As another sop to environmentalists, the CAP reform came up with an "Agri-Environmental Action Program" offering subsidies to farmers who take up organic farming, cultivate rare threatened plants, or refrain from interfering with natural water systems. Sounds nice, but the tiny budget, hardly more than 1 percent of what the Community currently pays for agriculture, shows that this is mere adornment.

"The most disastrous aspect of the MacSharry reform," says Lorenzen, "is the violent separation between production of crops and protection of the environment." A "reform of the reform" must combine food production with environmental protection, Lorenzen emphasizes. This means encouraging extensive rather than intensive farming.

One necessary tenet of a green policy is to recombine crop growing with livestock production. This is where the conflict with the United States comes in. At the very outset of the EC, the United States obtained a tariff exemption for its soybean animal feed, which it has defended tooth and nail ever since. This has led to serious distortions. In places like the Netherlands, livestock raised industrially on imported U.S. and Third World soybeans pollute the local groundwater. In return, European cereal farmers export their surpluses, causing further tensions on the world market. An ecological farming reform requires a shift back to home-grown feed for European livestock. The whole issue needs to be renegotiated, taking ecological factors into consideration.

The MacSharry reform's sacrifice of farm income was supposed to be understood as a major concession to the Americans in the GATT talks. Unimpressed, the U.S. negotiating team headed by Carla Hills implacably demanded still

more. With threats of all-out trade war in the air, the EC Commission negotiating team—made up of MacSharry himself and EC Commissioner for External Affairs Frans Andriessen—gave in. Indeed, MacSharry did not seem to take his own reform of the CAP altogether seriously in his last weeks at the commission before leaving to work for the giant transnational grain merchant Cargill. Europe's farmers felt doubly betrayed. Some in France said the Americans were, after all, only driving a hard bargain; it was the British that really made them mad. Britain's Conservative government, currently occupying the EC's rotating six-month presidency, had been "more American than the Americans" in the GATT talks. This is not surprising inasmuch as the Conservative Party's most influential constituents undoubtedly have more money invested in U.S. export industries than in British farming.

In early December, the Greens in the European Parliament initiated a censure motion against the commission for its handling of the GATT negotiations. The motion drew enough broad support to ensure that an important debate was held in Strasbourg, thereby demonstrating that discontent was not limited to French farmers.

The need for a "reform of the reform" is becoming more and more obvious. Greens believe that their ideas point the way out of the impasse. "If Europeans farmed ecologically," says the Green Europarlamentarian and farmer FriWi Graefe zu Baringdorf, "we would produce less and would have a market for imported food from Eastern Europe and the Third World. But that requires covering the real costs of respecting the environment."

The Greens are still hoping that the MacSharry reform of the CAP can be reformed before it is fixed for years to come by an unfair and destructive GATT deal.

For a free copy of the Greens' booklet on agriculture policy, write to Hannes Lorenzen, Green Group, European Parliament, 97 rue Belliard, 1047 Brussels, Belgium.



Complete the cycle. Buy recycled.TM

- Copy Paper
- Fax Paper
- Computer Paper
- Printing Paper
- Envelopes
- Mailing Labels
- Note & Legal Pads

**Atlantic
Recycled
Paper Co.**

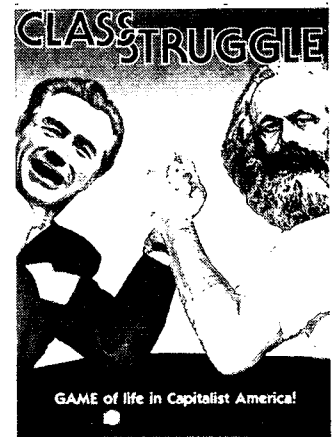
- Kitchen Towels
- Toilet Paper
- Facial Tissue
- Napkins
- Plates & Cups
- Bags
- and more!

Free Catalog (800) 323-2811

Prepare for life in Capitalist America . . . play CLASS STRUGGLE — the Game!

Find out for yourself why over 300 papers and other media (including T.V.'s TODAY and TOMORROW SHOWS) around the world have featured stories about "Class Struggle." Order now.

"Class Struggle" can be played by two to six players who represent different classes, the main classes being Workers and Capitalists. Both rules and content reflect what actually occurs in our society. For example, people do not choose their classes but are born into them. In the game, this is decided by a throw of the "Genetic Die." The main strategy of the game involves the making and breaking of class alliances. Elections, strikes, and revolution are occasions for Workers and Capitalists (and their respective allies) to confront each other on the basis of the points (strengths) they have accumulated. "Chance" and other Special Event squares fill in the social analysis.



The Avalon Hill Game Company • Dept. IT, 4517 Hartford Rd. • Baltimore, MD 21214

Send me _____ copies of Class Struggle @ \$25 plus \$2.50 shipping. DO NOT SEND CASH.
Checks payable to: The Avalon Hill Game Company.

I enclose:
☐ Check
☐ Money Order
☐ Credit Card info. below
 For quick credit card purchasing, call TOLL FREE 1-800-999-3222

NAME _____

STREET _____

CITY _____

STATE _____

ZIP _____

ACCOUNT #

SIGNATURE _____

EXPIR. DATE _____

BLACK AMERICA

Do genes cause crime?

W

hy is the homicide rate for young African-American men so high and climbing? Why is an epidemic of violent crime plaguing so many inner-city communities? These are just two of many questions being asked with increased urgency in these dawning days of the "new Democrats," when centrist policy-makers are seeking non-ideological approaches to vexing issues. And as the problems of inner-city America seemingly grow more intractable, old answers have been resuscitated for those new questions.

One of those old answers—"Genetic Factors in Crime"—was the title of a conference sponsored by the National Institutes of Health (NIH) that had been scheduled for October at the University of Maryland. The NIH, however, can-

celled the affair after word of the gathering was leaked during the Congressional Black Caucus' (CBC) September conference. Dr. Peter Breggin, director of the Center for the Study of Psychiatry, triggered the alarm during a CBC forum, charging that the "Genetic Factors" conference was one component of a proposed "Federal Violence Initiative." The initiative is a federal effort to examine possible biological roots of violence.

Breggin, however, alleged that the initiative is much more: it is merely one feature of an ongoing program to scapegoat black people and avoid the problems of poverty and racism. More specifically, he said, the government plans to target black children with mood-altering drugs and other psychiatric techniques to control their behavior. "What the criminal justice system does to older blacks, psychiatry will do to younger ones because there will be fewer protections for the children," he told the forum audience. "And it will be done in the name of psychiatric mental health treatment."

Breggin then cited Frederick Goodwin, director of the National Institute of Mental Health, as an advocate of the initiative. Goodwin gained media notoriety last February 11 when he spoke before the National Mental Health Advisory Council, comparing inner-city youth to rhesus monkeys who only want to kill each other, have sex and reproduce. In that same speech Goodwin mentioned the federal violence initiative, the first public reference to it.

Black leadership's reaction to the violence initiative has been swift and passionate. Rep. John Conyers (D-MI) and other CBC members have called for a hearing on the subject, and the group Blacks In Government (BIG) has created an organization specifically designed to fight the initiative. Several other African-American groups have listed opposition to the initiative as one of their highest priorities, and the subject is vigorously discussed on black-oriented talk shows across the country.

The widely accepted idea that blacks were genetically incapable of adapting to Western civilization was used to rationalize chattel slavery and other racist indignities, and African-Americans remain keenly aware of that history. And according to Loren Cress Love, co-chair of a group called National Movement to Stop the Violence Initiative, blacks also are troubled by the apparent hypocrisy of the federal government focusing on small-time violence and ignoring the historical record of more large-scale, often genocidal, violence. "Blacks were brought to America in violence, Native Americans were decimated by violence and people of color worldwide are victims of violence by whites," she said. "If we test people who are violent, blacks aren't the ones to be tested."

The federal government plans to examine possible biological roots of violence.



By Salim Muwakkil



Yet all this public furor has obscured important new information gleaned from contemporary research on the causes of violence. In the perennial argument concerning the effect on human behavior of nature versus nurture, most contemporary social theorists remain faithful to the liberal orthodoxy that environment (nurture) is the key determinant. But a growing number are beginning to argue that biological factors may be more crucial than orthodoxy concedes in shaping social behavior.

"We now know that most human behavior is a composite of both," said Dr. Louis Sullivan, secretary of Health and

ultimately point to new tactics for combating the violence that plagues the African-American community. In the highly charged atmosphere surrounding the violence initiative, however, any attempt to identify biological factors as determinants to crime is sure to be strongly resisted.

"We still remember the Tuskegee experiment—a government study on the effects of untreated syphilis of nearly 400 black men in Tuskegee, Ala., from 1932 to 1972—in which we were nothing but guinea pigs for the federal government," Love said. "We have to stay vigilant."

Unfortunately, she's right. ◀

Human Services, in response to recent charges about federal research on genetic causes of violence. Sullivan, who is African-American, completely rejected those charges and insisted that only a small amount of his agency's budget is devoted to exploring the biological roots of aggressive behavior. Sullivan clearly was stung by the angry reaction to the violence initiative, and it's a good bet that changes will be made in certain aspects of the program. But despite the fears and real dangers of misinterpretation, there is much to be gained by examining violent behavior outside of a criminal justice context.

Research points to correlations between violent offenders and a deficit of serotonergic brain chemicals. What's more, this chemical deficit may lead to alcohol or drug abuse as a form of self-medication. Dr. Carl Bell, medical director of the Community Mental Health Council and associate professor of clinical psychiatry at the University of Illinois-Chicago, theorizes that chronic head injuries predispose many urban black youths to violent behavior; he calls these "acquired biological factors."

Such theories may turn out to be fanciful notions. On the other hand, they may

EDUCATION

“Economic development” is killing education

No area of public life has suffered more from the current approach to economic development than the public schools.

By Gregory D. Squires

T

hese days, just about everyone agrees that education is increasingly important in the emerging global economy. What you know, not just what you own, is assuming greater significance in determining life's opportunities. Yet economic development policy in the U.S. increasingly undermines the nation's capacity to improve our educational system.

Creating a “good business climate” now dominates urban policy. This means reduced taxes (or at least no new taxes), particularly for business, and less government regulation of corporate enterprise. And, at the state and local level,

it means subsidized loans to big business, tax-increment finance (TIF) districts, quasi-governmental development authorities, enterprise zones, industrial revenue bonds, urban development action grants, publicly sponsored training programs, tax abatements, and even cash grants to corporations. As more cities and states offer a broader array of such incentives, each city's initially produced competitive advantage is diluted. The result is a race to the bottom as more private businesses benefit from mounting public largesse and communities are stripped of resources. With each new offering, tax revenues are reduced and funds for public services are further squeezed.

No area of public life has suffered more from this approach to economic development than public education. Tax-increment finance districts are particularly illustrative. TIF districts are city areas that have been declared “blighted.” Property taxes are frozen at the current levels for a specified period of time when the TIF district is created. Public improvements are financed through bonds issued by the municipality. Tax revenues that normally would be collected from the rising value of the land are used to pay off the bonds. In other words, property tax revenues that normally would be allocated among various public institutions, including public schools, are captured within the TIF district for the benefit of resi-

dents and businesses within that area.

The growing use of TIFs and other public subsidies intentionally shifts the tax burden from business to lower- and middle-income residents. One result is heightened demand for property tax relief, which, in turn, places even more pressure on school budgets. As public officials grapple with growing financial problems, they often look to teachers' salaries as a source of savings. Strikes follow, morale on the part of teachers and confidence in the schools on the part of parents suffer, and the quality of public education deteriorates.

Demands for such incentives frequently come from the same corporations that bemoan the lack of qualified workers and justify their own corporate flight, in part, on the unavailability of skilled workers. As Labor Secretary-designate Robert Reich reported in his recent book *The Work of Nations*, many corporations that celebrate the importance of education have reduced their donations to educational institutions over the past decade. Current corporate contributions now total less than what they receive from state and local governments in the way of subsidies and tax breaks. Reich observes, for example, that in North Tarrytown, N.J., General Motors' efforts to reduce its taxes

resulted in a reduction of local revenues by \$1 million in 1990.

More important, educational policy is beginning to mimic the most regressive forms of economic development. School choice is emerging as the educational panacea of the '90s. Under the assumption that greater competition will lead to better schools, many policy-makers, scholars and others advocate giving parents more choice to select their children's schools. A free market, it is argued, will force schools to improve the quality of education, or go out of business. Voucher systems and other experiments in laissez-faire education have been launched.

Although the impact so far has been marginal, support for choice is growing rapidly, and among a curiously diverse constituency. The Reagan-Bush administrations and Republican governors like Wisconsin's Tommy Thompson have been leading public-sector champions of choice. The editorial pages of the *Wall Street Journal* reflect the business world's advocacy of choice. Scholars like John Chubb and Terry Moe (whose book, *Politics, Markets and America's Schools*, was published by the Brookings Institution, long considered a prestigious liberal think tank) provide a veneer of intellectual respectability.

Major philanthropic organizations like the conservative Bradley Foundation offer financial support for true believers inside and outside of the academy. And many black politicians—like Wisconsin state Rep. Polly Williams—who are justifiably frustrated with the services their communities have received from the public schools, are trumpeting choice as the solution to the problems of urban schools.

As in so many areas of public life, the lines between traditionally liberal and conservative politics are blurred. More importantly, political debate on critical issues is blunted by a narrowing of discussion down to a handful of seemingly attractive bromides.

But choice advocates are blind to a fundamental and fatal flaw in this approach to education. Simply put, it fails to address the inequalities that gave rise to the nation's education problems in the first place, while exacerbating those same inequities. As Ray Marshall and Marc Tucker observed in *Thinking for a Living*, "The market would do what it has always done best: allocate scarce resources on the basis of wealth." But education is a public good. Since an educated citizenry is the key to prosperity, everyone benefits from high-quality common schooling. Consequently, it is not in the public interest to deliver education via a mechanism that will almost assuredly enable those with the most resources to purchase the most desirable education. Neither the economic well-being of the nation nor the quality of education, they rightly conclude, will be enhanced.

This is not to suggest that money alone will guarantee a good education. However, as Jonathan Kozol vividly demonstrated in *Savage Inequalities*, money is a critical factor. Financing of public schools is grossly unequal (per-pupil expenditure in many municipalities is twice as high as in their neighboring city school systems), and the vigor with

which middle-class communities fight school finance equalization efforts demonstrates that those parents clearly understand how money protects their privileged position.

It should go without saying (but, as Kozol notes, apparently the case still has to be made) that more effective education takes place in modern, well-maintained buildings with an abundance of science labs, computers and the latest textbooks than in schools like those in East St. Louis without these resources and where roofs routinely leak and raw sewage floats into the buildings. Not coincidentally, many of the chemical plants generating the environmental hazards that literally trickle down into such schools have been able to avoid many taxes by incorporating small towns around their factories, thus becoming independent of East St. Louis tax, health and other authorities.

In many ways, the wealthy are seceding from public life into their own private domains, while the poor are falling ever further out of the mainstream of American society. Nowhere is this more visible than in the withdrawal of the wealthy from public schools in the nation's cities—particularly those with large non-white populations—and the deterioration of those institutions into warehouses for the urban poor. Rather than becoming the "great equalizer of the condition of men—the balance wheel of the social machinery" advocated by Massachusetts educator Horace Mann 100 years ago, public schools have become, substantively and symbolically, the epitome of inequality run amok.

For education to fulfill its promise, economic policy generally and education policy in particular would be predicated on a different set of assumptions and would follow a different path to achieve the stated objectives. A more promising approach begins by recognizing that inequality is a critical social problem rather than the inevitable and benevolent outcome of the "creative destruction" of capitalism. Economic development should be measured in terms of the human capital of all participants and not just the financial capital of selected private businesses. Education is a critical investment for the future economic and social welfare of the nation rather than another public expenditure to be minimized in the interest of balancing budgets. The critical policy implication, therefore, becomes a call to strengthen the nation's commitment (financial and otherwise) to sound, equitable public education for all students.

Gregory D. Squires is a professor of sociology and member of the urban studies program faculty at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee.

This article is part of a continuing series on education edited by Alex Molnar, a professor of education at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee. The series, "Notes from the Back of the Class," covers a wide range of education-related issues. Contributions from readers are welcome. Manuscripts of no more than 1,000 words should be sent to Alex Molnar, c/o In These Times, 2040 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60647.

I N T H E A R T S

Sex, lies and plastic explosives

In The Crying Game, writer/director Neil Jordan combines geopolitics and gender politics.

By Pat Dowell

I've never liked movies with a gimmick. To use the parlance of *The Crying Game*, it's not in my nature. The mutability of human nature, however, is the very subject of Irish writer/director Neil Jordan's story of metamorphosis and constancy, a story in which the personal is undeniably, explosively political. It's got a whopper of a gimmick—a twist middle, rather than a twist ending, that casts a new light on everything before and after—but this is a movie that enchants with deeper surprises.

The movie's producers and distributors sent out a special letter to critics and reporters asking that we not reveal what twist the story takes. Much as I resent being dragged any deeper into the unpaid publicist role that seems to be the lot of all infotainment workers, I will try not to spoil the surprise. (But now that you know there is one, you'll be on the lookout, right? There's no way to have a pristine cinematic experience these days.) You'd still

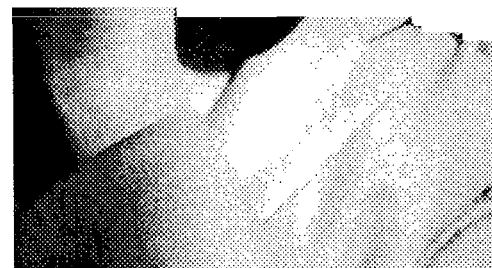
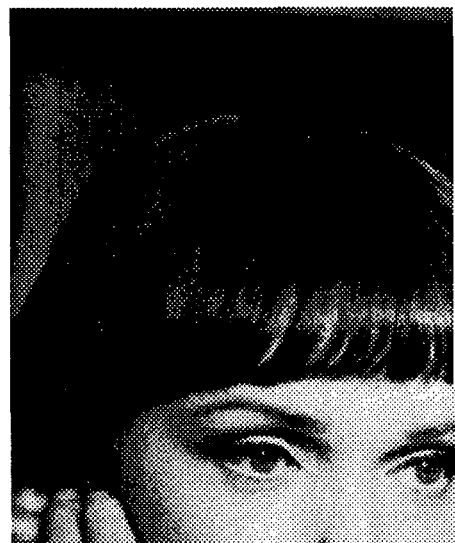
be safer seeing the movie first, and reading this afterward.

Appropriately enough for a movie that resembles a house of mirrors, *The Crying Game* begins at a carnival. Outside Belfast a randy black British soldier named Jody paws a compliant Irish blonde. Jody (the American actor Forest Whitaker) is soon lured into a more private nook, where his new girl Jude (Miranda Richardson, ferocious in every phase of the character) distracts him long enough for her Irish Republican Army comrades to take him captive. They hold him hostage for a prisoner exchange, giving the British a three-day deadline. But during those three days, Jody makes a friend of his guard and designated executioner, Fergus.

This worried-looking "volunteer," as he calls himself, is played splendidly by Stephen Rea. It is Fergus, the gentle terrorist with the

perpetually furrowed brow, whose nature is challenged and queried and transfigured by the events of *The Crying Game*. Dedicated to his cause and its rigors, Fergus nevertheless cannot quite maintain his comrades' distance from the prisoner.

In the forced intimacy of their unnatural situation, Jody and Fergus share names, smokes, even a photograph of Jody's "special friend," a lovely young black woman back in London named Dil. And Jody tells Fergus a fable, the famous one about a scorpion who entreats a frog to carry him across the river. In this tale, the scorpion promises the skeptical frog that he won't sting him and thereby drown them both. But he does. With his last breath, the frog asks why. "Because it is my nature," the dying scorpion explains.



After Jody meets his fate—unexpectedly, as you might begin to expect from this movie—Fergus chucks his IRA identity and travels “across the water” to London, where, calling himself Jimmy, he can’t resist looking up Jody’s girlfriend, Dil. A hairdresser by day, Dil is by night to be found at the Metropole bar as a brooding, sequined singer of torch songs such as the title tune. Fragile, susceptible, and fatalistic, Dil (Jaye Davidson in a remarkable debut) falls for anguished Jimmy/Fergus.

Here the political thriller makes its own transformation. It slithers into film noir territory, a moody nighttime landscape of bars and blues where doomed people meet and misunderstand each other. Jordan’s been here before, in 1986, with the underworld fable *Mona Lisa*. It too charted a painful romance, between a white ex-con and a beautiful black call-girl. In tone and theme and style, the two movies make a matching pair, but *The Crying Game* takes *Mona Lisa*’s ideas about love and politics several steps further into the enigmatic.

Just as the heart of the movie passed from Jody to Fergus, it passes from Fergus to Dil, who shakes her new lover’s world in ways that he and we could scarcely anticipate. Fergus must think again about who he is, not only the

nature of his geopolitics but of his sexual politics.

Not that the realities of Belfast disappear from the story—Fergus’ old cronies come out of the past to sting him with the warning that he is still one of them. They propose a risky ordeal to prove his loyalty. And, to protect Dil, he may have to risk his own new-found identity and destroy Dil’s in the process. If that sounds tantalizingly vague, it’s only for your own best interests. Trust me.



The Crying Game
Directed by Neil Jordan

viewer’s expectations. And where most movies aim to package familiar emotions for us, *The Crying Game* elicits unaccustomed and tentative feelings, a kind of eager elation at the prospect that human beings may build a bridge across the seemingly impassable abyss of individual loneliness or crash the barriers of geography and gender and race.

The Crying Game makes you remember how powerful movies can be in a very personal way. And how ambiguous the really good ones are. For at the same time that Jordan’s mesmerizing story seems to dissolve the standard sexual roles of romance, it might as easily be interpreted as ending sexual warfare by a kind of final solution—eliminating one gender. Eventually Jordan kills off his female characters or transmutes them into something, as a poet once said, rich and strange. Misogyny, after all, is in the nature of movies as a social phenomenon; the scorpion, even in this extraordinary incarnation, still has its sting.

The Crying Game is as ironic and ambivalent about this troubling undercurrent as about everything else (and, to be fair, the men in this movie undergo a sea change of their own). Movies have spent all their history in some fashion helping us to tell the girls from the boys so that both know their places. *The Crying Game* trades on all we know from all the movies we’ve seen, upsetting that order and challenging the nature of the primal movie story we’ve learned so well. To see it is to push off from our familiar moorings and travel with Fergus across mysterious waters indeed, where the movies and human nature seem new and full of possibilities again. ◀



Remaking Mingus

By Kurt Gottschalk

Nearly 13 years after his death, the music of Charles Mingus remains in jazz limbo. A fierce bassist and a brilliant composer, he has yet to rise to the stature of jazz greats such as Duke Ellington and Thelonious Monk. Yet, Mingus survived bop and free jazz and even the rocky terrain of the '70s, all the while producing some of the most fluid, expressive compositions in American music.



Weird Nightmare:
Meditations on Mingus
Various artists
Produced by Hal Willner
Columbia

absolute fury for living.

It is probably the sheer intensity of these compositions and performances that keeps many contemporary players from diving very deep into the well of Mingus' work. The notes can be played, but doing justice to the statements may be as intimidating a task as paying homage to Van Gogh by repainting his sunflowers. The works are so close to the artist—and the artist so strong—that reinterpretation requires considerable bravado.

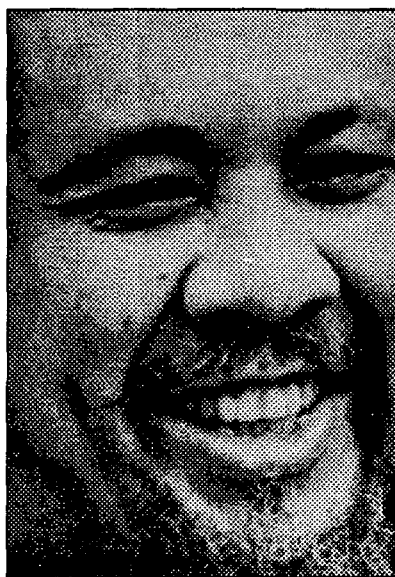
The few large-scale tributes that have been paid to him seem only to reflect his greatness, not reinterpret it. On her 1979 album *Mingus*, Joni Mitchell glossed flowery lyrics over lite-jazz readings of six of his compositions. The disc touchingly mourned the master's passing, but did little else.

More recently, Gunther Schuller took on the monumental task of assembling, arranging and conducting the scattered notes of Mingus' unfinished orchestral work *Epitaph*, and in the end built an awesome eulogy, but one which relied on the listener's appreciation of Mingus' work rather than demanding an audience of its own. What neither of these works did, and what tribute bands like the Mingus Dynasty and the Mingus Big Band fail to do, is breathe new air into works that once pulsed with and radiated life.

Leave it, then, to Hal Willner to come up with the first serious reinterpretation of the Mingus catalogue. Willner had made a name for himself by digging up the fragments left behind by various 20th-century composers and gathering an eclectic, cross-genre collection of performers to reassemble the original works.

Willner is capable not only of recognizing links between Thelonious Monk and Steely Dan or Kurt Weill and Tom Waits, but also of getting the performer in the present to relive the past—creating entire albums that seem lost in time. In doing so, each of his projects achieves must-have status for an array of anal retentive record collectors, from Sinead O'Connor's "Someday My Prince Will Come" on Willner's Disney tribute to Sting's version of Weill's "The Ballad of Mac the Knife."

Weird Nightmare: Meditations on Mingus is Willner's fifth and most fully realized tribute to date. The relative lack of jazz players in the lineup is more than compensated for by a hot "house band," including New York jazz-edge players Don Alias, Don Byron and Bill Frisell. With such solid support, Elvis Costello, Public Enemy's Chuck D and Keith Richards are able to stand in with surprisingly strong readings of some of Mingus' most personal compositions. Carrying the entire work is a wash of percussion and chime created by the instruments of the late experimental composer Harry Partch. The haunting tones of such instruments as his "cloud chamber bowls" and "cone gongs" shape the



dreamy weave that holds *Weird Nightmare* together.

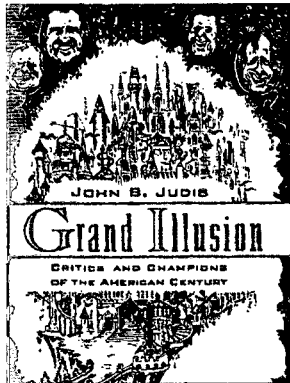
In the past, Willner has focused either on more recognized or less significant composers. By taking on one of the most important and complex figures in American music, however, Willner has produced not only his most ambitious album to date but a long overdue, inspired tribute to the music of Charles Mingus. ◀

IN PRINT

Before and after the Cold War

By Jim Chapin

The presidential election featured a race between a stand-pat conservative Republican whose administration showed no interest in reforming domestic policy, a "new Democrat" who promised to update his party's ideology to face the new world economy and the strongest third-party candidate in history, who promised a new concentration on the national interest, using the government to help the economy.



Grand Illusion: Critics and Champions of the American Century

By John Judis

Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 344 pp., \$25.00

begins his survey of 20th-century Americans with Croly.

The book studies 14 "critics and champions of the American century": Croly, Henry Wallace, Walter Lippmann, George Kennan, Paul Nitze, Whittaker Chambers, James Burnham, William Fulbright, Barry Goldwater, Richard Nixon, Henry Kissinger, Ronald Reagan, Lee Iacocca and George Bush. Two additional individuals whose names are not cited in chapter heads loom large throughout the book: *Time* publisher Henry Luce as a negative focus and

Yes, the election of 1912 was very interesting. The similarity of that election to the one just past may be a result of the fact that 1992 was the first presidential election in 80 years in which there was no great power overseas ideologically opposed to the United States.

Theodore Roosevelt's new nationalism, a vision of imperial destiny and domestic reform, was drawn from the work of Herbert Croly, *The Promise of American Life*, which proposed to use Hamiltonian means to reach Jeffersonian ends. John Judis, Washington correspondent for *In These Times* and author of the definitive biography of William F. Buckley,

Theodore Roosevelt as a positive one.

Although the book professes to cover the entire century, the bulk of it is devoted to the post-World War II era. Judis has written this surprisingly conservative intellectual history with a specific polemical purpose in mind: "The story pivots on a continuing debate over how Americans should understand their place in the world and the relation of their government to the free market: it pits an evangelical against a realistic view of America's mission and a conservative against a progressive view of the government's purpose." Judis clearly identifies with the progressives and the "realists." "The purpose of this book is to revive those memories [of the words and deeds of the progressives and the realists] so that Americans will be better able to face the great questions."

It is a sign of the success of the book that it stimulates thought. Any selection of representative figures can be criticized by pointing out omissions: one misses, for example, Woodrow Wilson, Herbert Hoover and Franklin Roosevelt. It is certainly questionable whether the radical individualist intellectuals (to use Judis' own description) of the first half of the book are really comparable to the successful politicians of the latter half.

Judis' point of view toward the Cold War is traditionally left: the Soviet Union wasn't really a menace, the war distracted the U.S. from more important economic issues. Yet it can be argued that it was military Keynesianism that pulled the United States out of the Great Depression, and it is the decline of that economic system that has produced our present difficulties.

Judis criticizes the evangelical dimension of American politics without explaining how it can be transcended. Although he recognizes the weakness of Nixon and Kissinger in failing to develop popular support for "realism," how realistic can an ideology be if it can't draw support from its own people? It is hard to conceive of a United States of liberal realists instead of conservative evangelists. And, in fact, there is only one major figure in American intellectual history who combined *democratic* liberalism with realism, Reinhold Niebuhr, who receives only passing mention in the book.

Judis' analysis reflects one of the most important intellectual shifts between 1945 and 1985: the revived optimism about the market's potential. He writes that *Partisan Review* editor James Burnham understood "the looming contradiction between political freedom and the expansion of state economic power," and accepts the idea that concentration of economic power makes political freedom harder. Ironically, Whittaker Chambers, a forefather of the New Right, argued that the revocation of the New Deal and the welfare state would be reactionary rather than conservative, and made the excellent point that "capitalism is not, and by its essential nature cannot conceivably be, conservative." It is the continuing radical economic shifts forced by capitalist development, more than any ideological challenge to capitalism, that is the most problematic part of the modern world economy. Judis himself seems to like the overall views

of Henry Agard Wallace, a regulated national capitalism in a one-world economy.

More important, he hasn't fully adjusted his views to the reality of the collapse of the Soviet Union. He applauds Walter Lippmann's critique of former Soviet Ambassador George Kennan's containment theory, arguing that the theory set up a confrontation that could only be resolved by a Soviet collapse. This theory—which held that if Soviet expansionism was contained, the USSR would collapse—was codified (against Kennan's objections) by a 1950 National Security Council directive, which argued that there would be “no lasting abatement of the crisis unless and until a change occurs in the nature of the Soviet system.”

Burnham's view of terror as essential to communist power is dismissed, and yet it certainly has proved to be true. And Burnham's ideology of rollback as a way to “victory in the Cold War” certainly did play a role in its end.

The conservative intellectual Cold Warriors thought that they were on the losing side of history, and had trouble making distinctions between liberalism and communism. Chambers called the struggle against communism “a great war of faith” and saw social democracy and liberalism as simple variations of the communist belief. Burnham believed that evil states had almost magical powers and stated that “liberalism is the ideology of American suicide.” Ironically,

*It is becoming
clear that the
entire 1914-91
era was a
historical
detour.*

the neo-conservatives were more rational than the rest of the radical right.

But Chambers and Burnham and even Barry Goldwater never held state power. Those who did fought a more rational Cold War than Judis gives them credit for. The Marshall Plan, for example, did succeed in rebuilding Europe: could it have been carried out in the absence of Cold War rhetoric?

Reagan's election, which Judis calls “the definitive defeat to realism” and “the rival of Cold War evangelism,” was surely something more than that. Foreign-policy expert Coral Bell has suggested that the Reagan administration provided rhetorical solutions to rhetorical problems that it had helped to create. But she also points out that Reaganism succeeded in what it set out to do abroad: the Strategic Defense Initiative did play some role in the Russian reassessment, and so, for that matter, did the Reaganite switch from defending America's Third World clients to attacking those of the Soviets.

Mikhail Gorbachov's reassessment of Russian policy after 1985 cannot be separated from American policy. Similarly, as journalist Paul Berman suggests, it was exactly the evangelical aspect of America's consumer culture, the '60s and the '80s combined (Frank Zappa and Shirley Temple

Black), that had a big impact on the Eastern bloc.

With all the faults of the containment theory, it seems to have been more of a success than almost any other political theory of the 20th century. And the central question, whether a democratic capitalist American society could have reached a permanent accommodation with a totalitarian Soviet state, seems to have been answered repeatedly in American history. Whether such an accommodation was possible, regardless of one's analysis of Russian behavior, it was impossible in practice for the U.S., more because of American democracy than because of American capitalism.

It is no coincidence that the “realists” whom Judis admires were anti-democrats: Kennan and the Nitze even preferred the Nazis to the British! Fulbright had an “abiding skepticism about popular democracy.” Henry Kissinger admired Metternich, the enemy of everything that America stood for. Nixon's focus on the balance of power and his deflation of expectations, which Judis praises, could not have been justified to the American people, which is why Nixon never tried.

By the same token, liberal Democratic presidencies coincided with the major American wars of the century. Jimmy Carter, the only conservative Democratic president of the century, was also the only one not to involve us in a war.

Judis closes with a traditional American lamentation about declension, comparing George Bush negatively with Theodore Roosevelt. But as I suggested at the beginning of this article, the real comparison of Bush is with his fellow successor President and Yale patrician with Midwest roots, William Howard Taft. And after the outbreak of World War I, T.R. descended into a crazy jingoism less rational than any position George Bush ever took.

The lives of all Judis' characters ended in some sort of defeat: for example, Henry Wallace in 1948 or Herbert Croly with the Treaty of Versailles in 1919. One might just as well accept that all political careers end in defeat, like life itself.

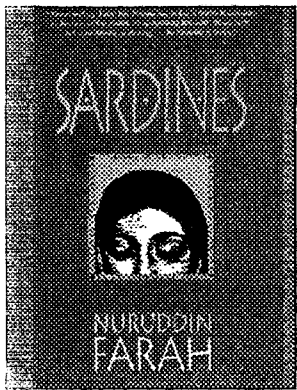
This book is smoothly written, provocative and interesting, and well worth reading. Judis is right in arguing that the United States now faces a new set of problems, and right in arguing that we must “begin again” in the pre-World War I era. After the end of the Cold War it is becoming clear that the entire 1914-91 era was a historical digression or detour. But in this book, Judis has a Cold War focus as consistent as those he decries. I hope that his future work will emphasize this book's most important insights: the implicit comparison between early 20th-century Great Britain and modern America and the similarities between the world situation of 1900 and that of today. That world of capitalist economic competition, a rising Japan and Germany and crumbling Russian and Chinese empires, ethnic strife and endemic terrorism has more in common with our own than do the wartime economics, totalitarian politics and bipolar blocs characteristic of the century that lies between us. ◀

Jim Chapin is a vice chair of the Democratic Socialists of America and chairman of the board of World Hunger Year.

A dictatorship dissected

By Michael Eldridge

Exiled Somali writer Nuruddin Farah tells a story about being lost in Manhattan: on his way uptown to visit a friend, stuck on an express train he mistook for a local, he emerges from the subway in Harlem and



Sweet and Sour Milk, Sardines, and Close Sesame: Variations on the Theme of an African Dictatorship

By Nuruddin Farah
Graywolf Press, 242 pp.,
263 pp., and 237 pp.,
\$12 each

stops a passerby for directions. Unfolding his street map and tracing a hypothetical route with his finger, he unravels—in soft, measured tones one might mistake for “European”—an interrogative “if” whose “then” is nearly obscured in a tangle of coordinating clauses, conditional tense and subjunctive mood. Irritated, suspicious and somewhat nonplussed, the man looks Farah up and down and finally responds: “Where you from, nigga?”

That his diffident interlocutor refused to believe that Farah was in fact from Africa (“I know Africans, and you ain’t from no Africa”) only makes his pointed question more salient. For Farah both is and isn’t—or at least isn’t *only*—“from” Africa. During his 18-year exile, he has been equally at home in London and New York as in Khartoum and Kampala. And though he writes primarily in English, he is adept in the languages and literatures of four continents. Literary heavyweights such as Chinua Achebe, Salman Rushdie and Nadine Gordimer recognize Farah as one of the most important and accomplished contemporary novelists anywhere in the world. So how come we North Americans know so little about where Nuruddin Farah is from?

In light of current events, this is neither an idle question nor a purely rhetorical one. Belatedly shamed by U.N. Secre-

tary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali’s chastisements—or simply bored, perhaps, with fixating on the Balkans (and no longer distracted by a presidential campaign—when, one might infer from George Bush’s recent remarks, it apparently *was* tolerable to watch Somali children starve), the Security Council, the U.S. State and Defense departments, and the Western news media have targeted Somalia for their latest blitz. Suddenly the airwaves and newswires are flooded with clichéd portraits of objects of pity; sensational accounts of drug-crazed, gun-toting teenagers; anthropological blather about “nomads” and “pastoral villagers”; and fearful diplomats and pundits alternately shaking heads and wringing hands—not to mention generals and soldiers posturing about “doing the job they were trained to do.” (Second helpings of Ethiopia, L.A. or Iraq, anyone?) Thankfully, consumers of other kinds of fiction needn’t be satisfied with such a smorgasbord of Orientalism: St. Paul, Minnesota’s Graywolf Press (best known nationally for its acclaimed “Multi-Cultural Literacy” series) has recently issued a beautiful paperback edition of three Farah novels—out of print for many years—comprising the trilogy “*Variations on the Theme of an African Dictatorship*”: *Sweet & Sour Milk* (1979), *Sardines* (1981) and *Close Sesame* (1983).

The dictatorship under scrutiny in these remarkable books is, of course, Mohamed Siad Barre’s, whose overthrow in January 1991 precipitated the pathological factional squabbling and its macabre results with which the rest of the world is now uncomfortably acquainted (see story on page 14). But what needs to be emphasized in all this, says Somali-born Rakiya Omaar, former director of the human rights group Africa Watch, is that—contrary to their typical coverage in the West—such grim events are not somehow “biblical” or inevitable (or proof that Third World nations are hopeless “basket cases” perpetually in need of the corrective guidance of the Great White Father). Like the war in the Balkans, they have complex geopolitical causes.

One virtue of Nuruddin Farah’s trilogy is that, even as he passingly makes plain some of the tragedy’s obvious causes (colonial underdevelopment, Cold War arms-mongering, IMF blackmail), his careful exploration of life under Barre’s institutionalized chaos shows how it, above all, paved the way for the ensuing madness.

Indeed, several contemporary reviewers seemed inordinately relieved that Farah’s writing in these novels was not “angry,” “didactic” or “political” (read: it didn’t point fingers at the West) but, rather, sensitive, subtle and lyrical. The point they missed is that the two postures aren’t mutually exclusive.

From his first novel (*From a Crooked Rib*, 1970), the proto-feminist story of a rural girl who escapes an arranged marriage to live independently in the city, Farah has been concerned with breaking down the boundaries between the personal, the poetic and the political. He says of two of his characters in *Close Sesame*, “They explored ideas as though they were containers in which some valuable items had been lost.” And this is equally true of his own prose.

Farah leisurely draws us into the lives of his characters (an apolitical naïf futilely investigating the strange death of his subversive twin brother; a journalist/single mother stifled equally by the dictator's regime and a despotic in-law; an elderly, devout father struggling to accept the dangerous politics of his son's generation). In doing so, he slyly uncovers layer by layer what we weren't necessarily looking for in the themes of patriarchy-as-dictatorship, failure of the family structure and the ruptures between memory and madness. All the while, his rage is carefully contained as he explores the (post-)colonial contradictions under which Siad Barre could orchestrate an arcane, Marxist-coated clan-centrism into murderous thuggery. "Somalia was a badly written play," Farah says elsewhere, "and Siad Barre was its author"—as well as stage manager, prop master, main actor and central theme.

One of Farah's aims, then, was to give Somalia a less monologic script. But his trilogy isn't merely a period piece: there's no dearth of dictators in the world, and they all leave messy legacies when they topple. One day in early August, National Public Radio's *All Things Considered* followed up a grim report on Somalia with an optimistic story touting the prospects for new, post-dictatorial democracies elsewhere in Africa. Aware of the ugly baby Democracy has become in its "cradle," Farah is a little less wide-eyed.

"What I never could have predicted," says a character in *Close Sesame*, "... is how easily governable we are": "The Grandest Actor performs in front of an applauding audience that should be booing him." Such a global expression of wonder overflows the boundaries of Somalia. For readers in a country that just this year flirted with an authoritarian candidate for president, and which continues to be preoccupied with its own brand of "family" values, it might as well be directed at us.

By the time of *Maps* (Pantheon, 1986), his most recent novel available in this country (it is out of print but continues to be available in remainder), Farah had become one of the world's most important—and most poetic—theorists of post-colonial identity; undertaking, in a sort of Somali *Midnight's Children*, a breathtaking assault upon the seemingly "natural" but finally unstable categories of gender and nationality; and exploring, via the dismembered body of ethnic Somalia, the ways in which cartography expresses ideology. There, as in most of the Third World, a population was divided against itself by the capricious pen of imperial mapmakers. Back in Europe, they invented a name for it: Balkanization.

Striking even closer to home in *Gifts* (1990) (which, in a bitter cosmopolitan irony not lost on him, is so far available only in Swedish translation), Farah posed discomforting but timely questions about the broader moral and historical context in which the West gives "aid" to the Third World, and about the twisted dynamic that exchange sets in motion between giver and receiver. American readers may wait a while for *Gifts*, but in the meantime Farah has given us back three other compelling works that make us rethink a new world order where such old-fashioned power relations stubbornly persist.

Michael Eldridge is a doctoral candidate in English at the University of Minnesota.



C L A S S I F I E D S

▶ HELP WANTED

IN THESE TIMES ASSISTANT MANAGING EDITOR, part-time position. Duties include editing, some writing and assorted administrative tasks. Send resume, clips and cover letter by January 15 to Miles Harvey, In These Times, 2040 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60647.

GENERAL ORGANIZER. Are you tired of site by site NLRB Organizing? Need new challenges? Work for fastest growing union in the AFL-CIO and learn creative and innovative organizing skills that have been utilized in victories around the country. SEUI-Org. Dept. P.O. Box 34104, Washington, D.C. 20043. EOE

STAFF COORDINATOR. THE LOUISIANA COALITION, a statewide network of community, labor, religious and environmental organizations fighting for progressive tax reform and political power for low- and moderate-income citizens. Staff coordinator is the director and administrator and is hired by and responsible to a Board of Directors made up of representatives of member citizens groups. The Coordinator oversees budgeting, fund-raising, organizational and leadership development, organizing, research and public policy efforts. Must be well-organized, have solid writing and speaking skills, believe in long-term social change and true democratic participation at the grassroots level. Must have 2-3 years management and supervisory experience at a comparable non-profit organization. \$21,000 minimum salary based on experience. Full benefits, mileage, vacation.

Women and minorities encouraged to apply. Louisiana Coalition, Search Committee, 8841 Bluebonnet Blvd., Ste C, Baton Rouge, La. 70810-2847.

COMMUNITY JOBS: The Employment Newspaper for the Non-Profit Sector. Join over 50,000 job-seekers in reading a unique monthly publication containing more than 200 new job listings (in Environment, Arts, International, Health, Youth, Civil Rights, Housing, Human Services, etc.). Featuring informative articles, book reviews, resource lists, profiles of non-profit organizations and the people who found them. Contact: ACCESS, 50 Beacon St., Boston, MA 02108, (617) 720-5627.

ORGANIZER. Local union in Cape Cod area looking to hire creative, aggressive, innovative individual committed to trade unionism and social justice to do major healthcare organizing. P.O. Box 34104-PF, Washington, D.C. 20043.

EDITOR. For award-winning, weekly labor newspaper. Skilled in all aspects of writing and production. Resume with three writing samples to: Racine Labor — Search, 1840 Sycamore Avenue, Racine, WI 53406. Equal opportunity employer.

▶ PUBLICATIONS

SURVIVE UNEMPLOYMENT! Unemployed white-collar workers—Angry or confused? My booklet might help you. \$10 and S.A.S.E. to: David Jernberg, 1163 Fairwood Dr., Elgin, IL 60123.

▶ BOOKS

PEOPLE'S GUIDE TO CAMPAIGN POLITICS by Gary Schwedes. Definitive book on local campaign techniques. "Book of the Year" nominee—*Washington Monthly*. Send \$15.95 to Schwedes Consultants, Box #111, Whitefish, MT 59937.

SHORT APPREHENSIVE HISTORY OF THE WORLD, illustrated, history in a nutshell for cynics. Hardbound, \$22.99, softbound \$12.99, postpaid. Brainerd Books, Dept. 3, Box 25153, Lansing, MI 48909.

▶ SPANISH STUDIES

SPANISH FOR ACTIVISTS. All levels, small classes, interactive method, affordable prices. BRECHT FORUM, New York City, (212) 941-0332.

STUDY SPANISH IN THE NEW EL SALVADOR. Live with a union family, volunteer work opportunities. Professional teachers, frequent sessions. For application and information write to: Salvador Miranda Language School, c/o Popular Technology Project, 545 Guerrero Street, #8, San Francisco, CA 94110.

▶ WORD PROCESSING

EXPERT WORD PROCESSING at lowest price, editing services, manuscripts, personalized mailings with speed & accuracy. Free Word Perfect disk. Audio-tape transcription my specialty. 30+ years experience. Call Linda

327-0006 (evenings/weekends) or 341-0900 (weekdays).

▶ PERSONALS

CONCERNED SINGLES NEWSLETTER links compatible left singles concerned about peace, justice, racism, environment. Nationwide. All ages. Free sample: Box 555-T, Stockbridge, MA 01262.

SOUTH FLORIDA LEFTIES—Iowa City Teacher/Journalist, escaping winter immediately-looking for folks for coffee/conversation and tips on beaches/motels. Gary Sanders (319) 337-7739. Call ASAP.

▶ TRAVEL

DISCOVER HOME EXCHANGE! Short/longterm—domestic/foreign. Invented City, 41 Sutter - 1099tt, San Francisco, CA 94104, (800) 788-CITY.

▶ CALENDARS

CAT LOVERS AGAINST THE BOMB. 1993 Wall Calendar, \$7.95 plus \$1 postage. An excellent holiday gift idea for your feline loving friends. Order from Nebraskans for Peace, 129 N. 10th St., Rm. 426A, Lincoln, NE 68508 or call (402) 475-4620.

▶ ASSOCIATIONS

SCIENTIFIC UNIONISTS FOR TOTAL SOCIALISM. Write DDEC, P.O. Box 3744-T, Grand Rapids, MI 49501-3744.

▶ T-SHIRTS

"WOMAN OWNED AND OPERATED", big red letters on white 100% T-Shirt; about your mind, body, business. L, XL, \$12.95 plus \$2.00 s/h. ck, mo to: *lolo et al*, p.o. box 4072 dept. ITT, St Paul, MN 55104.

WEST COAST SOCIALIST SCHOLARS CONFERENCE.

APRIL 16-18, 1993,
University of California-Los Angeles.
CALL FOR PAPERS, PANELS, ROUNDTABLES.

Submit abstract to: Socialist Community School/Los Angeles DSA,
P.O. Box 77027-161, Pasadena, CA 91117-6921.

Deadline: January 15, 1993.

For information call Kathie Sheldon, (310) 451-8934.

JEWISH CURRENTS December, 1992 Issue

"Pushing the Peace Process Ahead," editorial; "My Jewish Problem, Your Black Problem," Earl Ofari Hutchinson; "The J.A.P. and Self-Hatred," Lori Ginzberg.

Single issue: \$2.
Subscription: \$20 yearly (USA).

JEWISH CURRENTS
Dept. T, Suite 601
22 E. 17 St.
New York, NY 10003

AGAINST THE CURRENT

a U.S. bimonthly socialist magazine of news, analysis and dialogue. Recent issues include: Anastasia Posadskaya on Russian Women Facing the Market • Manuela Dobos on the Yugoslav Catastrophe • Stephanie Coontz on the "Family Values" debate • Mary McGinn on Organizing at the U.S.-Mexican border • Voices from the Los Angeles Explosion. Try us! The price of a year's subscription: \$25 overseas, \$18 in U.S.

7012 Michigan Ave
Detroit MI 48210

Over 120 books & booklets
by atheist & freethought authors.
Complete catalog for \$1

American Atheist Press

Dept. TT P.O. Box 14505
Austin, TX 78761-4505

NO DENTAL INSURANCE?

New plan offers FREE annual exam
and X-rays and up to 69% off all
other dental & orthopedic services.
Send for free brochure:

E. Galloway-UDPA, Dept. IIT
2550 Shattuck Ave. #34 Berkeley, CA 94704

Viva!

Barricada Internacional

Monthly news summary and analysis
from Nicaragua. Sample free!
Introductory rate, \$24.50/year.
Barricada USA-I, PO Box
410150 SF, CA 94141

Fresh, Natural Dates

Organically grown by UFW members
2 lbs @ \$10 • 4 lbs @ \$16
From Pato's Dates
Dept. 11/60-499 Hwy. 86
Thermal CA 92274

**This
publication
is available in
microform
from University
Microfilms
International.**

☐ Please send information about these titles:

Name _____

Company/Institution _____

Address _____

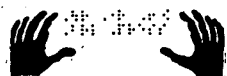
City _____

State _____ Zip _____

Phone () _____

Call us toll-free for an immediate
response: 800-521-3044. Or call
collect in Michigan, Alaska and
Hawaii: 313-761-4700.

The Our Right To Know Braille Press, Inc.



For blind and print-handicapped
persons, selected articles from IN
THESE TIMES are included in FIL -
FREEDOM IDEAS INTERNATIONAL, a
quarterly review of minority and inde-
pendent publications, produced by the
Our Right to Know Braille Press, Inc.,
on 4-track 15/16 ips cassette tape. A
4-issue subscription to FIL costs \$5.

Send to:

**Our Right to Know Braille Press,
Inc. 640 Bayside, Detroit, MI 48217
(313) 842-1804**

HONEST LAWYER, H O N E S T !

Ralanda Webb

(312) 408-1980

Literary Agency

Query w/SASE

Jeremy A. Solomon

First Books, Inc.

2040 N. Milwaukee Ave.,

2nd Floor

Chicago, IL 60647

THOMAS PAINE PORTFOLIO

Invaluable collection of articles, essays, biographical information,
and vital extracts from the writings of the great libertarian and political
philosopher "who did more for this country than any other man who
ever lived in it." Material assembled in a sturdy book-type enclosure. A
unique intellectual/educational bargain at only \$8.50 ppd. (USA only)

Independent Publications

Box 102

Ridgefield, New Jersey 07657



Social Change Tool for the 90s

This quarterly subject index to over 200 alterna-
tive, radical and progressive publications will be an
invaluable tool in your study of social and political
change. Ask the folks at your library to subscribe
to the Alternative Press Index, a unique guide to
information you won't find anywhere else.

Libraries \$125; individuals, non-profits, and movement groups \$30.

AND NEW THIS YEAR:
SPECIAL CUMULATIVE EDITION FOR VOL. 23, 1991. \$50
(OFFER GOOD THROUGH DECEMBER 1992)

For more information, write:

Alternative Press Center P.O. Box 33109 Baltimore, MD 21218

IN THESE TIMES Classified Ads Work Like Your Own Sales Force

We're the only national newsmagazine offering the
variety of readers you won't find anywhere else. It's
the inexpensive way to promote your product.

Word Rates:

95¢ per word / 1 or 2 issues

85¢ per word / 3-5 issues

80¢ per word / 6-9 issues

75¢ per word / 10-19 issues

65¢ per word / 20 or more issues

Display Inch Rates:

\$30 per inch / 1 or 2 issues

\$28 per inch / 3-5 issues

\$26 per inch / 6-9 issues

\$22 per inch / 20 or more issues

\$22 per inch / 20 or more issues

Classified ads must be prepaid.

Send your ad copy, coupon, and payment to:

IN THESE TIMES, Classified Ads,

2040 N. Milwaukee, Chicago, IL 60647.

Enclosed is my check for \$_____ for _____ week(s).

Please indicate desired heading _____

Advertiser _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Centennial Oration on THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

By Robert G. Ingersoll

(delivered July 4, 1876 at Peoria, IL.)

There is a profound eloquence in this insightful 1876 address
on the founding of the Great Republic. The prefatory words
to this masterpiece show clearly why the great orator was
called the American Demosthenes: "One hundred years ago
our fathers retired the gods from politics."

Paper reprint, \$4.00 ppd. (USA)

Independent Publications

Box 102

Ridgefield, NJ 07657

Continued from page 40

not only paid high interest but, surprisingly, were guaranteed by the full faith and credit of the U.S. and Iraqi governments. "Profitable, patriotic and a contribution to Mideast peace," he said.

Unfortunately, the SCUD notes bombed and I lost all the money I invested. I subsequently learned that it wasn't BNL's fault, let alone that of the U.S. and Iraqi governments. It was all the fault of Mr. Drogoul, a lone demented banker.

Sadder and poorer, I decided to forego a trip to France this fall to help clean up my own country. A certain Mr. Henry R. Perot from Dallas, Texas, assured me that he was willing to be my servant in this project.

Henry had an engaging, straightforward manner, part cornucopia and part Dana Carvey. I told him about my problems with the State Department and BNL, and how those experiences were encouraging me to rethink the role of human agency in history.

"Henry," I proffered, "maybe no one really gives orders and no one really takes them. Maybe we're all lone demented whatevers and wannabes."

"I have trouble with that proposition," Henry replied. "I'm someone who gives orders and gets madder than a snake with a herniated disk if I'm not instantly obeyed. Life's a package deal and it's people like me who corrugate the boxes, if you get my meaning."

Big talk, sure. But then Henry turned into a lone demented candidate.

At this point, I'm still reconsidering my position, Conrad. ◀

CALENDAR

▷ LOVELAND, OH

January 26-May 19, 1993

NEW WOMEN, NEW EARTH, a residential, experiential living/learning semester exploring related themes of ecofeminism, justice, spirituality and the arts using Grailville's 300 acres of organic gardens/farmland as a base. Individual and group study, interaction with visiting scholars, experience in sustainable agriculture, creating rituals, community-as-process, arts. Open to women from all stages of life. College credit available. Contact: Audrey Sorrento, Grailville, 932 O'Bannonville Road, Loveland, OH 45140. (513) 683-2340

▷ WASHINGTON, D.C.

January 8-11

"SOCIALIST FEMINISTS: WHO ARE WE NOW?" — A conference for friends and members of Democratic Socialists of America and the DSA Feminist Commission. Saturday and Sunday programs will include skills-

building workshops and discussions aimed at developing a socialist-feminist agenda in various arenas such as gay and lesbian politics, environmentalism, electoral politics, the peace and justice movement, and anti-poverty programs. Conference plenaries will address feminist issues around sex and sexuality; prospects for a multi-racial women's movement in the U.S.; and multi-generational perspectives on socialist-feminism. Conference will conclude with a Lobby Day on Monday, January 11. Saturday and Sunday sessions will be held in the District Building of the District of Columbia. The space is wheelchair-accessible. Childcare and ASL signing will be provided as requested. Pre-registration is \$25 (registration after January is \$30). For more information, contact the DSA Feminist Commission at 5123 Fifth St, NW, Washington, D.C. 20011, (202) 829-6155.

Help Elect a Progressive Wisconsin State Superintendent of Public Instruction

Alex Molnar

In These Times education editor is running for State Superintendent of Public Instruction in Wisconsin. He has a very good chance of winning, but it will be a hard fought campaign and he needs all the financial support he can get (before the February 16 primary).

Please send as much as you can to:

Friends of Alex Molnar
4426 N. Bartlett
Shorewood, WI 53211
(414)964-2365

Perfect Gift for the Next Generation

"This textbook will provide an essential educational resource for the next generation of Americans."
Senator John F. Kerry

An illustrated textbook that covers all facets of the Vietnam War from a diversity of perspectives

- ☐ Please send me _____ copies of the book at \$19.95 each, plus 10% for shipping. I have enclosed a check or M.O. for a total of \$ _____.
- ☐ Please send me more information about the modular textbook, the teachers resource guide and videotape.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____

Zip _____

Make check payable to: Center for Social Studies Education
3857 Willow Ave., Pittsburgh, PA 15234 Phone: 412-341-1967

IN THE END

The ITT Ideologist returns

In his latest adventure, he goes one-on-one with the Lone Danger.

By Pete Karman

Dear ITT Ideologist,
I haven't heard from you lately.
What gives?
—J. Conrad, Nostro, Mo.

Dear JC:
Sorry, JC, but I've been up to my keester in lone nut problems.
A few months ago, I made a Freedom of Information request to the State Department for my passport file to see if I had lately been anyplace interesting enough to write about. I was shocked and appalled when, by the next day's express mail, I received my file appended with a solicitous cover letter from Elizabeth Tamposi, the now departed Assistant Secretary of State for Consular Affairs.

"Prompt service to citizens on the move," she wrote, "is our immovable object."

I was troubled to notice that not a word in my file had been blacked out with one of those fat marking pens that have served our national security far more effectively over the years than squadrons of Stealth bombers. Indeed, words had been added. "ALERT: SUBJECT FREQUENTS FRANCE" was rubber-stamped on my application form in big red block letters.

What came to me immediately in my recherche leftist-conspiratorial mind-set was that I was being singled out for trouble. I knew that Pat Robertson and Jerry Falwell,



recrudescent presences in the Republican Party had lately targeted Paris as the evil nexus of post-Christian and humanist subversion.

I knew what association with France did to the promising careers of Jerry Lewis and Mickey Rourke. I got scared, especially with anti-U.S. demonstrations by French farmers inflaming America's ever-smoldering anti-gallic gall.

Hey, calm down, I told myself. Rein in your conspiritus. Remember that teapot tempest you raised in *In These Times* last spring about JFK, the murder and the movie? Remember how wiser heads from California to Cambridge demanded your head?

So, with a cranked-up spirit of goodwill replacing my usual funk of foreboding, I contacted the State Department to clear up matters. Secretary of State Eagleburger told me that he was amazed and enraged that an FOIA request had gotten out of Foggy Bottom in less than the requisite decade and without being soaked in India ink.

He assured me that, for the time being at least, there was nothing wrong with going to France, and that the rubber stamp was there to protect rather than mark me.

He advised that all inappropriate action in this matter had been the sole responsibility of Ms. Tamposi, a lone demented bureaucrat.

Whew, said I. Yet no sooner did that problem get resolved than another of a similar nature cropped up.

I had received an immensely large payment from *In These Times* for my writing and was looking for a financial institution with the proper mix of probity and sophistication to manage such a sum. A friend suggested the Atlanta branch of the Banca Nazionale del Lavoro. It was a solid institution, owned largely by the Italian government, and if you opened a new account they gave you a nice faux Benetton sweatshirt with the legend "U. of Baghdad Sport Ball" on it.

I contacted the manager, a Mr. Christopher Drogoul, with the intention of starting a Christmas Club account. He persuaded me, however, that the bank's Special Certified Untaxed Debentures, or SCUD notes as they were called,

Continued on page 39

©1992 Peter Hannan